THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

ONE THING IS CLEAR AS THE ATTACK IN Congress against the Marshall Plan begins to take shape: no one is going to try to defeat it outright. Even the most isolationist Republicans in both houses are directing their strategy to various changes designed to pare it down, or bring it under an independent agency, or insure hard-boiled "business" control of the funds after they are allocated. The danger is that just enough of these amendments will be voted to ruin the value of the program, while no comparable changes will be made to guard against its use for reactionary ends here and abroad. So far, the top Administration leaders have met the objections of the Republican opposition most effectively. If their testimony is to be believed, the adoption of E. R. P. will prevent still larger military appropriations, encourage American trade, make no additional demands on the domestic food supply, and increase national prosperity. They have also gone out of their way to soothe the fears, or counter the arguments, of the left. A State Department report to Congress indicates that our policy under E. R. P. will not be to encourage reactionary parties or regimes abroad; on the contrary, it describes the Socialists as "among the strongest bulwarks in Europe against communism." This admirable pronouncement, warmly supported by the New York *Herald Tribune,* indicates at least a recognition in high places of which way the European tides are running.

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IF IT REMAINS SOMEHOW UNCONVINCING and irrelevant, like a balloon hanging in the air with no string attached, the reason lies in the circumstances that surround it. More and more force is obviously going to be applied to keep the rotten Greek royalist regime in power and lick the guerrillas. Force, in dimensions beyond our power of understanding, is advocated in the Finletter report, which carries no suggestion that E. R. P. or any other peaceable device will contribute enough weight to make unnecessary the monstrous war economy it outlines. And while we commend Europe's Socialists for opposing communism, we systematically oppose socialism wherever our writ runs—and the area widens. In western Germany, now being set up as a pseudo-state under American control, we have blocked all plans to socialize and internationalize the Ruhr, putting the Social Democrats at a hopeless disadvantage while the Communists effectively denounce the American "capitalist plot" to divide Germany and starve its workers. In this unhappy setting, our determination to make a revived German industry the core of E. R. P. takes on ugly connotations for millions of Europeans, and for the Germans themselves. "Protocol M" may be authentic or a clumsy forgery; it really makes little difference which. For unrest in the Ruhr is not waiting upon instructions from Moscow. Strikes and riots will increase as food supplies shrink, and the Socialists, already reduced to near impotence, can hardly afford to line up with the occupation against the hungry workers—and the Communists.

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AND WHILE WE PROTEST, ON PAPER, OUR friendly feelings for the moderate left, the rumor has been revived that, before spring comes, Franco Spain will be admitted to the fraternity of E. R. P. states. The story started during the General Assembly when the United States, alone among the great powers, voted against reaffirming the anti-Franco resolution of the year before. At that time, a delegate close to the Americans stated flatly that Franco would be included in the Marshall Plan, and United States delegates elaborately dodged questions on the subject. The rumor has now been published in Europe by way of Reuters, and queries have been cabled back. Perhaps it is unfounded, but this much is a fact: in recent State Department press conferences, the question has been raised and no denial made. George Fielding Eliot has hinted that a new policy toward Franco was to be expected soon. Perhaps the story is untrue. If so, a quick public denial is urgently called for. Nothing could be more demoralizing to liberal supporters of the Marshall Plan, nothing more gratifying to its Communist opponents, than the news that the last fascist dictator in Europe was to share in its benefits.

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ON THURSDAY OF LAST WEEK, A THIRTY-YEAR legal war neared culmination, when the Supreme Court sat down to listen to arguments on the validity of racially restrictive real-estate covenants. Three of the justices—Reed, Jackson, and Rutledge—found it necessary to dis-

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qualify themselves from participating in the decision. They are said to have withdrawn because of "previous or present connections with covenanted areas," a state of affairs which indicates how all-embracing are the poisonous tendrils of the restrictive covenant. The reduction of the court to six members for this hearing now makes is dangerously possible for it to come up with a three-to-three tie. This would result, disastrously enough, in affirmation of a lower-court ruling which has sustained restrictive contracts. But on the previous Monday, all nine justices, acting with almost unprecedented speed, handed down a decision which shatters the pattern of racial inequalities in educational opportunity in every Southern state. In ordering Oklahoma to provide a legal education for Ada Lois Sipuel, a Negro girl who was qualified in every respect, save color, to enter the state university law school, the court did not, it is true, reject the pernicious "separate but equal" doctrine. Oklahoma must provide Miss Sipuel with a legal education, but it was left to the state to decide whether she was to be given it with other students at the university, at the university but all alone in a segregated classroom, or at a state Negro college. Since it would cost Oklahoma several million dollars to establish separate law courses for Negroes equal in every way to the regular university courses, and since the Supreme Court put a five-day squeeze on the state by commanding it to provide Miss Sipuel with her education "as soon as it does for applicants of any other group," the state may accept her as a university student for the term that starts this week. As we go to press, there is no definite word just how Oklahoma intends to handle the situation. In any event, the United States Supreme Court has ducked a civil-rights issue, but by a sharp, tough judgment it has severely curtailed the actual practise of educational bigotry.

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WE FIND MR. TRUMAN'S DESIRE FOR A BACK porch rather touching. He comes from back-porch country, and it's just possible that he would derive both comfort and confidence from sitting in a rocking chair and contemplating the back yard. But he has gone about getting it with such devious ineptitude that by this time he has got himself out on a balcony which may shortly be sawed off. His secrecy about his plans till they were hatched and his defiance of the opinion and the taste of the Commission of Fine Arts are puzzling as well as pig-headed. As for his defense of his balcony as a new invention comparable to the first bathtub, the first gas lighting, and the first cookstove in the White House, it sounds positively Republican. Perhaps a compromise can be reached—so that the politicians and the molders of public opinion can get back to E. R. P. and inflation. The compromise might follow the lines of the one between the old Cape Codder and his regular summer

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boarder. The Cape Codder, after long cogitation, allowed that the boarder could instal and pay for a bathroom on condition that he take the contraption away when he left.

*

GANDHI'S FAST, NOW HAPPILY ABANDONED, may ease communal tension around New Delhi, but it seems unlikely to settle the critical differences between India and Pakistan. Chief of these differences now is the fate of the principality of Kashmir. The Indian case is that Kashmir, overwhelmingly Moslem in population, has been victimized by plundering tribesmen from the North West Frontier Province; that the native rajah appealed first to the Pakistan government for relief and, getting none, asked to have his state temporarily incorporated into the Dominion of India. This was granted on the understanding that a plebiscite would follow when peace was restored. With the dispatch of Indian defense troops to Kashmir, the tribesmen poured into the state in even greater number, invariably by way of Pakistan and equipped with rifles, armored vehicles, mortars, and other armaments not commonly associated with these wild men of the hills. The Pakistan government denies arming the raiders, and at least one correspondent quotes tribal chieftains as saying that what they have in mind is not merely the periodic looting of Kashmir, an ancient custom, but acquisition of the state for themselves; and that, moreover, they will recognize no decision of the United Nations and no agreement between India and Pakistan that fails to deliver the long-coveted prize into their hands. If the Pakistan government has made any effort to check the tribesmen, it has used only the method of gentle persuasion and the appeal of a common religion. The New Delhi regime scoffs at this approach and demands that the Pakistani either take efficient steps, by order of the Security Council, or face the risk of war, which Indian military action "might any day precipitate and make inevitable." Pending the council's decision, the world has a right to expect at least that Pakistan will check the movement of raiders across its territory. If it pleads inability to do so, it will inevitably raise questions as to its competence to carry on as a sovereign state.

*

LAST WEEK, A GOOD NEWSPAPERMAN DIED. Josephus Daniels was that, before and after he was anything else. Of different views and temperament, he was still closely akin to William Allen White of Emporia; and, like the famous *Gazette,* Daniels's Raleigh *News and Observer* so accurately reflected the opinion and sentiment of a locality that it became something of a national institution. There are still a few examples of this sort of independent, small-town, personal journal to be found, but very few. Most of them have died or faded into the flat, boiler-plate uniformity that blankets the press of the country at large, and Daniels's death reminds us again that an era in American publishing has almost ended. But the editor was also a statesman. Today, his opinions are regarded with tolerance by men who fought him with extraordinary venom in his most active years. Even during his last major assignment, as ambassador to Mexico, Daniels was bitterly attacked, in private, by stuffed shirts in the State Department and openly by many influential Americans in Mexico. They used to say he had "sold out to the Mexicans" and failed to protect American interests, by which was meant, quite patently, the interests of American business. What these gentlemen failed to appreciate was that Daniels's refusal to connive at the exploitation of Mexico's resources was helping to create a reservoir of good feeling that this country would be able to draw upon to its infinite advantage when war came. There are many sorts of "American interests." Throughout his long and busy life, Josephus Daniels fought for those that are served by social justice and international friendship rather than by greed and imperialism.

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WE TAKE PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THE acquisition of Ezekiel Schloss as a regular weekly political cartoonist. This brings *The Nation's* list of regular artists to three, the others being David Low, who returns to us, with the cooperation of the London *Express* and Canada Wide Feature Service, after too long an absence, and Oscar Berger, who has caricatured almost all living great men in their natural habitats. Mr. Schloss speaks six languages, is art editor of a children's magazine and a farm journal, and staff artist of *France Amérique*. He will, we think, keep his audience grinning wryly and thinking hard from week to week.

*

OUR READERS WILL BE GLAD TO KNOW THAT the Newark Board of Education, at its next meeting, will hear arguments for and against the ban imposed on this magazine by the Newark Superintendent of Schools. His action will be challenged by the editor of *The Nation* and by Paul Blanshard, author of The Catholic Church in Medicine, Sex, and Education. Also present will be representatives of the Newark Teachers' Union, whose opposition to the superintendent's decree is made clear in a letter on page 111 of this issue, the Ministers' Association, the American Jewish Congress, and the American Civil Liberties Union. We urge members of the Nation Associates and other readers of *The Nation* to put in an appearance. Several dozen have already telephoned to tell us they intend to do so. The meeting will be held in the offices of the Board of Education, 31 Green Street, Newark, New Jersey, at 7:30 next Tuesday evening, January 27.

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Promised Land— or False Economy?

IN THE second half of his excellent economic report to Congress the President invited Americans to look ahead to a promised land of stable prosperity. We cannot, he said, expect to go on increasing annual national production as rapidly as we have since 1939, but we can reasonably hope for a further advance of 35 per cent in the next decade. That would mean an increase in per capita income of 27 per cent compared with 1947 and of 80 per cent compared with 1937.

On the basis of past achievements and present technological trends no one can say that this is an unduly ambitious goal, provided progress is not interrupted by another catastrophic depression. To guard against that danger, Mr. Truman said, we must resort to long-range planning with three particular objectives in view: (1) the conservation and development of natural resources and capital equipment; (2) the development of human resources so as to enable our people to lead richer lives as well as become more productive; (3) the improvement of economic institutions and practices in order to achieve better cooperation between private enterprise and representative government.

Large investments by both business and government will be required for the fulfilment of this program. In the main, it is to private enterprise that we look for the expansion of plant needed to insure a steady rise in living standards. But the attainment of new levels of production does not depend solely on capital investments in new factories and machinery; it calls also for investment in projects that do not offer an easily measurable financial profit though they add immeasurably to potential national wealth.

The President rightly emphasized two fields for increased government expenditure where big returns may be expected in the form of additions both to national income and to social welfare. Unnecessary sickness, for instance, is costing us dearly in terms of production as well as in terms of human suffering. Even a 20 per cent cut in time lost through illness would save billions of dollars annually. The President has asked Congress to make a modest start on a national health program. That step is long overdue.

Improvement in education, also, has a direct bearing on economic progress. "Business depends on education," said Frank W. Abrams, chairman of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in a recent address, "not only to provide more profitable markets but to provide more productive man-power." Yet in quantity, and still more in quality, our educational effort is capable of vast improvement. This will not be achieved, however, without federal leadership and financial aid, for the poorer sections of the country lack the resources to raise their standards to modern requirements.

Other fields where increased government investment is vital are housing and urban redevelopment and soil, forest, and water conservation. Urgent measures are needed to reduce the social and economic costs of urban congestion. And unless erosion of our basic natural resource—the soil—is checked, we shall soon face difficulties in maintaining a constantly expanding population.

These, then, are some of the long-range tasks which the President proposes we should tackle. Unfortunately, the way to the promised land is barred by formidable obstacles. This fact is made dismally plain by the budget for fiscal 1949, which assigns only a meager share of record peace-time expenditures to basic investment in wealth and welfare. Proposed additional expenditure on health, education, housing, and the broadening of social security, for instance, amounts to $452,000,000—little more than 1 per cent of the total. By comparison, $500,000,000 is allotted for launching universal military training and $900,000,000 earmarked for procurement of new military aircraft.

Actually, only 26 per cent of the $39,500,000,000 which the Administration proposes to spend next year is for ordinary civilian purposes: 28 per cent is for defense, 15 per cent for veterans, 13 per cent for interest on the national debt, and 18 per cent for international commitments including E. R. P. So vast an expenditure on past wars and present armaments severely limits constructive investment.

Moreover, even the crumbs available for such purposes are being eyed hungrily by Republican economizers. Obviously, the Tafts and Tabers are talking nonsense when they say that four to five billion dollars can easily be trimmed from the budget. They can't touch debt interest and won't touch veterans' benefits. Nor are they likely to cut sharply into defense expenditure, the department which offers the most scope for economy. The victims for which they are sharpening their knives are E. R. P. and the social services.

Proposed expenditure in the second of these categories is clearly inadequate. And with regard to E. R. P., we agree with Secretary Marshall that nothing could be more futile than a half-hearted effort. European recovery is vital to political and economic security, and an attempt to buy it on a cut-rate basis is likely to prove the most expensive of false economies. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly plain that our resources, large as they are, will not suffice to finance adequately a foreign economic program, a domestic development plan, and an expanded military apparatus. It seems to us that the most inflated of these items is the last and that economy should start there.

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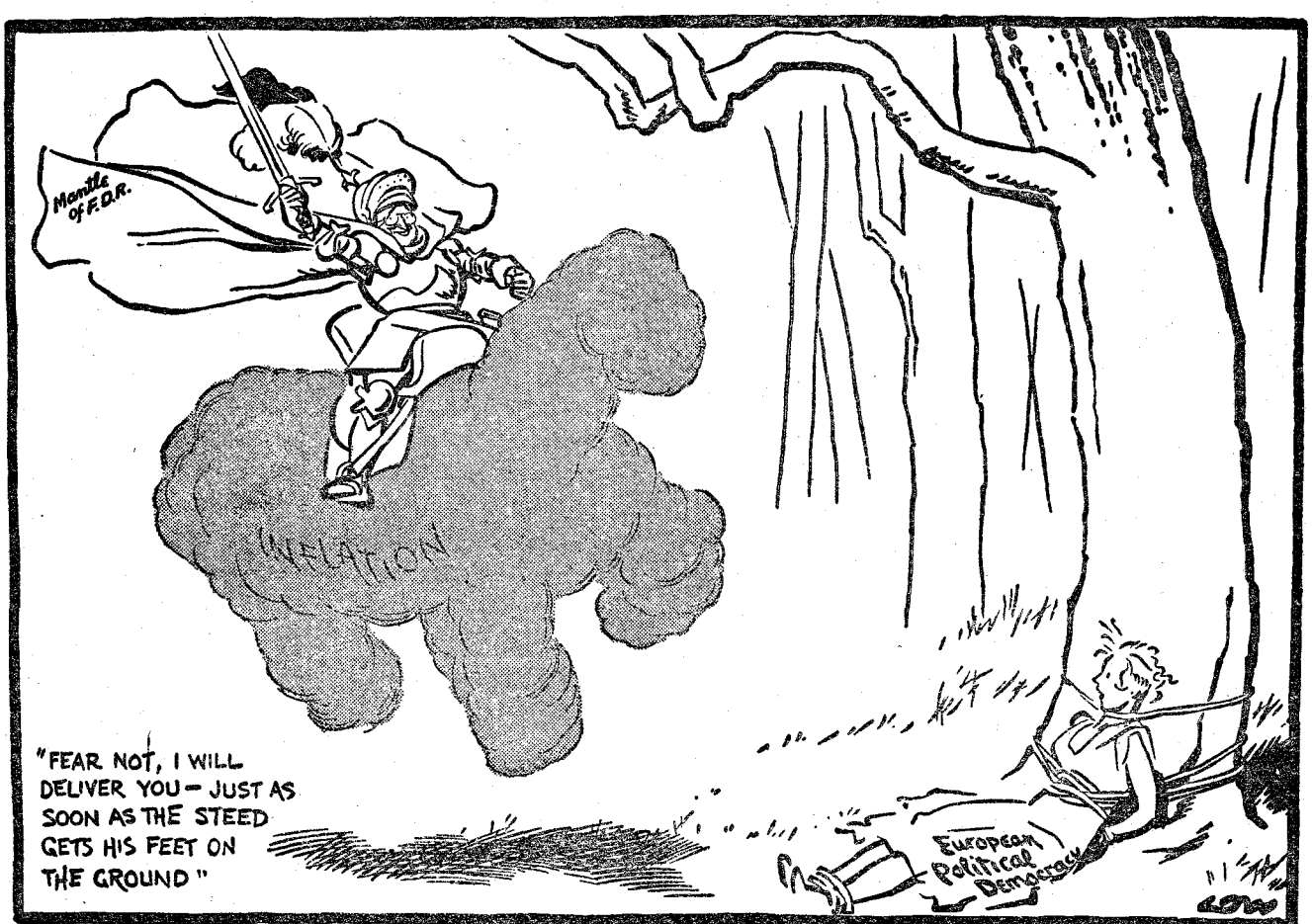
Is It Bigotry?

AMONG the milder Catholic reactions to Paul Blanshard's series of articles which appeared recently in these pages, are the more-in-sorrow-than-in-anger remarks of some of our Catholic contemporaries. The burden of these comments, typefied by the editorial in *America* for November 29, is that *The Nation* has "at last stooped to unfair and low tactics," thus depriving *America's* editors of "an opponent whose strength and skill [they] once respected, and for whom, in the heat of the struggle, [they] conceived almost an affection." From this high estate, of which we were incidentally never aware, we have descended to "pure narrow-mindedness and bigotry."

For our part, we are conscious of no change. Just as we supported Alfred E. Smith for the Presidency in 1928, we would gladly support today a Catholic candidate as good as Smith was then; and our opposition to the Klan and other hate-Catholic groups is surely as unequivocal today as it has ever been. If we are narrow-minded now because we interpret the First Amendment to mean the literal separation of church and state, then we have always been narrow-minded, for in common with the Supreme Court of the United States we have always held to that interpretation. Not only have we subscribed to this traditional American position, but we have insisted, and do now insist, on the distinction between the Roman Catholic church as a religious institution and the same church as a political force.

It is this, we are sure, that our erstwhile and undeclared admirers hold against us. If there was any doubt of that it has been dispelled by the violent reaction of the church's lay instrument to the formation during the past week of an organization tentatively called Protestants and Other Americans for the Separation of Church and State. "Wolves in sheep's clothing" is the tellingly intemperate phrase applied by the Knights of Columbus to the distinguished signers of the group's manifesto—such nationally respected persons as Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary; Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat, president of Colgate-Rochester Divinity School; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist church; Dr. Louis D. Newton, president of the Southern Baptist Convention; and Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, former editor of the *Christian Century*.

The tack that anyone who opposes the Catholic position on matters of public policy is a bigot has apparently been handed down from on high. It was no less an eminence than Francis Cardinal Spellman who gave the signal for the campaign of injured innocence when


Mantle of F.D.R.
INFLATION
"FEAR NOT, I WILL DELIVER YOU — JUST AS SOON AS THE STEED GETS HIS FEET ON THE GROUND"
European Political Democracy

GALLANT SIR TRUMAN AND THE MAIDEN IN DISTRESS

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he told a Fordham audience: "Bigotry once again is eating its way into the vital organs of the greatest nation on the face of the earth. . . . Once again a crusade is being preached against the Catholic church in the United States. . . . now it is the growth and expansion of Catholic education, which is claimed to be a constant threat to the supremacy of public education in the United States."

The technique is age-old and consists merely in a bold reversal of the truth. We have yet to hear of a single responsible agency or individual questioning the right of Catholics to operate their own schools and expand them to their hearts' content. What the Cardinal meant but did not dare to say was that the American people as a whole were not willing to rescue and rebuild the declining parochial school system with taxpayers' money. On the other hand, there has for some years been in progress a very real, dangerous, and unrelenting campaign in high Catholic circles to disparage, undermine, and eventually destroy the system of American public schools. Mr. Blanshard's chief offense, we suspect, was to drive this truth home—and largely by throwing back at the hierarchs their own words. It was their Father Paul L. Blakely, S.J., who in a pamphlet carrying the imprimatur of Cardinal Hayes warned the faithful that "our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance." It was their Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen who said, "A system of education which ignores, sometimes repudiates, religion and morality . . . is not worth preserving. Let it perish!"

Naturally we concede the right of churchmen to criticize the public-school system. Why not? They do pay school taxes in spite of Father Blakely. Though canon law makes it a sin for Catholics to send their children to the public schools, they not only do so in overwhelming numbers, but they teach in them as well, and in many cities they control the public-school system completely. (Having been banned from the high-school libraries of Newark by a Catholic superintendent of schools because of the Blanshard articles, we speak with some feeling.) But not content with having an adequate, and often disproportionate, share in the control of the public schools which it scorns, the church seeks daily—by lobbying, by propaganda, and by political maneuvering—to exact from the state a share of the common revenues for the support of purely Catholic schools—schools in which the taxpayers who put up the funds would not have the slightest control over policy. Thus it would at the same time undermine the public secular schools, which are basic to American democracy, and expand its own institutions at public cost.

In this campaign the church has propelled itself squarely into the arena of public policy. It has raised a highly controversial political issue, and it must in all decency expect legitimate opposition. In matters affecting the general welfare—and we include birth-control legislation and many other problems as well as state aid to schools—Catholics most assuredly have the right of all Americans to press for the acceptance of their views. But to brand as bigots and Klansmen all who disagree with them, as Cardinal Spellman appears to be attempting, will serve only to force the organization of those who, like the founders of the newly formed group for the separation of church and state, are determined that clericalism be given no entering wedge in the American system of government. To this kind of "narrow-mindedness" we subscribe whole-heartedly. Any other stand would in truth be the "degenerate liberalism" of which the editors of *America* accuse us.

Boom, Bust, War

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 15

NATION readers with a penchant for horror stories will find some fine gruesome fare in two reports made public here this week. The Economic Report of the President indicates that we are moving inexorably from boom to bust; the report of his Air Policy Commission, that we are moving fatalistically toward war.

In the Economic Report those cautious but clear-sighted Cassandras, the members of the Council of Economic Advisers, have done a first-rate job. Though so tactful as sometimes to appear timorous, they have provided a warning that only the irresponsible will disregard. Unfortunately, the irresponsible have a majority in Congress and quite a caucus in the Cabinet itself.

The classic signs of an impending bust are clear, though just when it will happen is still anybody's guess. The flimflam of inflation continues to short-change the worker while swelling the profits of industry. Wage increases added $3,500,000,000 to $4,000,000,000 to workers' money incomes last year, but price rises more than wiped out any benefit. The purchasing power of the consumer's dollar income fell 8 per cent during the year, and consumer expenditures were maintained by a one-third drop in the rate of savings, by a $3,100,000,000 increase in consumer credit, and by withdrawing $3,500,000,000 from accumulated savings. "The use of savings for current living expenses," the Economic Report says, "is an ominous sign."

For business itself the post-war inflation was proving more profitable than the war had been. The most profitable war year was 1943. Profits before taxes in 1947 were $3,500,000,000 higher than in 1943, while corporate taxes were $3,100,000,000 lower. Profits after taxes were $6,500,000,000—almost 65 per cent—higher in 1947 than in 1943. In some happy instances industries seemed to be producing less and earning more, thus cutting down on wear and tear. The steel industry, with

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capacity considerably below the war-time peak, was earning considerably more. Iron and steel profits after taxes were $323,000,000 for the first nine months of 1947, as compared with full year earnings of $204,000,000 in 1943, $194,000,000 in 1944, and $188,000,000 in 1945. This hardly indicates that lower taxes are an incentive to higher output.

WITH the consumer's dollar down and capital's profits up, how is business volume to be maintained? "The continuance of such a relationship," the report says, sotto voce, "would not enable consumers to absorb, with their current incomes, the output of a maximum-employment economy when the extraordinary volume of business reequipment, net exports, and the use of credit level off." Housing, the best hope of maintaining a boom, is in a desperately sick condition. The physical volume of new housing in 1947 was less than in any year from 1923 to 1930. Prices were twice as high as in 1940. Most homes were being built for high-income families, and "mortgage indebtedness has been rising faster than the construction expenditures on new housing." The Economic Report is not guilty of overstatement when it says that "our economy requires a larger flow of income to consumers."

How is that to be achieved? Congress is in no mood to grant Mr. Truman the ten-point program he needs as an anti-inflationary minimum. Excess-profits taxes or higher corporate levies, as asked by Mr. Truman, would not only help reduce the huge public debt, the chief base of credit inflation, but also sop up exorbitant demand for capital goods. But Congress leans toward tax reduction in all brackets, though this would give new stimulus to inflation. Mr. Truman could put the brakes on inflation by wise cuts in government expenditures, for today almost 30 cents of every dollar for goods and services is spent by government. But no substantial savings are possible except by reducing the enormous amounts being spent on the military services. The new budget allocates 28 per cent to the armed forces, as compared with the 1 per cent which would be spent on education and the 0.1 per cent which would be spent on housing *if* Congress approved the President's request for $300,000,000 for school aid and $40,000,000 for a housing program.

Mr. Truman's social-welfare program, the wreath he deposits piously each year on the New Deal's grave, is unlikely to survive the Republican search for safe pennies to pinch. Neither Republicans nor Democrats are likely to touch the sacrosanct billions for war preparations. These compete in the market for scarce steel, aluminum, and machinery, adding sharply to inflationary pressures, but they represent a source of profit big business will not willingly forgo. The report of the President's Air Policy Commission indicates that the heat is on for greater military expenditures. Mr. Truman plans to spend $11,000,000,000 on the armed forces in the next fiscal year, but his Air Policy Commission proposes to raise this steadily to $18,000,000,000 by the calendar year 1952. The commission "does not subscribe to the proposition that armaments are a guaranty of peace," and it says war preparations "are draining away a large part of the money and energy that should be applied to better things." But it thinks its $18,000,000,000 estimate may have to be revised upward before 1952, and it concludes that the bomber force envisaged by its four-year program would still be "minute" compared to the British and American air fleets over the European theater in the last war.

THE aviation industry has hailed this gigantic program with joy, and Harvey Brown of the A. F. of L. Machinists has chimed in. The commission cannot be accused of hostility to the industry. It recommends repeal of the law requiring 10 per cent of all aircraft to be produced in government-owned plants. It would substitute "renegotiation" for the present 10 per cent limit on shipbuilding and 12 per cent limit on aircraft profits. It would liberalize cost allowances on research, but it opposes the Attorney General's suggestion that patents deriving from government-subsidized research be kept in the public domain. The commission turns its back on the lessons of the Nye inquiry and would get rid of the puny safeguards provided by the Vinson-Trammel act of 1934, passed as a result of that inquiry. The air age has begun, and we are in the presence of a successor to the voracious pre-war alliance of the admirals and the armorplate makers.

When the report talks of the need for a big navy, it assumes that long-distance air warfare is still far in the future. When it talks of the need for greater air fleets, it speaks of atomic push-button war as something just around the corner. It started with a maximum figure of 60,000,000 air-frame pounds of purchases annually in unsettled conditions, and a minimum figure of 30,000,000 pounds "after maintenance of world peace is well assured." But that minimum is 9,000,000 pounds more than current purchases. It thinks "our gravest danger" would come "with calculated changes for the better in the public attitude of a possible enemy." Thus a conciliatory attitude would be regarded as more menacing than truculence. Peaceful conditions would indeed be a menace to the vast private war industry envisaged.

The Nye committee dwelt on the tendency of arms lobbies "to intensify the fears of people of their neighbors," and the air programs of Britain and France as well as Russia are cited as arguments for these new proposals. "A nation in the position in which the United States finds itself today," the report says with incredible complacency, "has no choice but to follow policies which may lead to friction with other nations." And of course to ever larger orders for armament.

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The P. C. A. Convention

BY MILBURN P. AKERS

Chicago, January 19

THE Progressive Citizens of America, denouncing the two old parties as a bi-partisan alliance leading the nation to war and depression, has started down the third-party trail under the Wallace banner. Six hundred P. C. A. delegates from twenty-eight states, meeting in a two-day convention in Chicago, heard Henry A. Wallace, who has announced his Presidential candidacy, say: (1) We would not have been forced to build a new party if the Democratic Administration had not abandoned the Roosevelt program. (2) Inflation is setting off a chain reaction which can result in the most devastating explosion in the nation's history. (3) Wall Street, which found war profitable, is not satisfied with its fabulous "take," and its drive for super-profits is the mainspring of inflation. (4) Substantial wage increases, together with effective price control and the rolling back of prices, are needed to combat inflation. (5) It will take a vigorous, well-organized third party, speaking a language politicians understand—the language of votes—to obtain the repeal of the Taft-Hartley act.

In his "keynote" speech Mr. Wallace made only slight reference to foreign affairs, seeking apparently to broaden the base of his vote appeal by directing his message primarily to American wage-earners and consumers. Throughout his address he assumed the formation of a third party as a vehicle of his Presidential candidacy, and most delegates did the same.

Wallace and a third party—that was the sense of the delegates before assembling, and so it remained on the second day, when the matter was officially discussed. The convention cleared the way for P. C. A. participation by authorizing each state chapter, in consultation with the national office, (1) to affiliate with or merge into the Wallace-for-President committee or the new party, or to enter into such other organizational relationship with the committee or the party as it might determine; and (2) to send a representation to a national conference when it convenes to set up a new national party. The convention also authorized affiliation or merger of the national P. C. A. with a new party, or such other organizational relationship as might be determined.

At its first session, before Wallace spoke, the convention adopted a resolution containing these two paragraphs: "We hereby indorse the candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for the Presidency of the United States"; and "We are confident that with a people's party and people's candidate the American people will regain control of their destiny to build an abundant, secure, free, and peaceful America."

From start to finish the convention had three themes—Wallace, peace, and prosperity. Everything else—resolutions, speeches, and actions—was subordinated to them, and the legislative program adopted at the final session followed the same pattern. That program, containing approximately six thousand words, is too long to summarize in an article of this nature; only a few high spots can be touched on. One, of special interest, was the fact that the P. C. A. finally came out for international control of atomic energy. "We believe," the resolution said, "that atomic energy should be used for the purpose of peace, not war. The manufacture of atom bombs must be stopped. Existing stockpiles of atom bombs must be scrapped. We support international control of atomic energy."

The resolutions on Palestine supported "combined United Nations military operations" to enforce partition in an equitable and peaceful manner. "The United States," they urged, "must oppose British and all other sabotage of the United Nations partition plan." At the same time the P. C. A. proposed that American immigration barriers be removed "so that victims of Nazi and fascist persecution who desire to come to this country may do so." No specific mention was made of Baltic nationals or of the inhabitants of other Russian-occupied countries numbered among displaced persons.

The Marshall Plan was condemned, and in its place the convention urged the substitution of a United Nations reconstruction fund, modeled after UNRRA, with contributions by the United States and other nations "in an amount sufficient to finance an over-all five-year plan." It called for allocations on the basis of need, without regard to the character of the political or social institutions of the recipient nations, and asked that the use of such funds for military purposes be barred. International administration of the Ruhr under the Big Four was demanded, and so was the withdrawal of aid to the Chiang Kai-shek government. The admission of fascist Spain to the United Nations was opposed, as was universal military training.

Mr. Wallace's domestic program was, in effect, indorsed, including his proposal for an increase in the basic minimum wage to $1 an hour. The convention also approved the P. C. A.'s earlier demand for public ownership of railroads, coal mines, and public utilities.

Robert Kenny, former attorney general of California, who has been co-chairman of the P. C. A., was elected chairman. Throughout the proceedings P. C. A. leaders sought to maintain the organization in the position of supporting rather than generating a third party. None the less, a third party, if finally hatched, will have had much of its incubation at P. C. A.'s second annual convention in Chicago's Knickerbocker Hotel.

MILBURN P. AKERS is on the staff of the Chicago Sun.

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The Third Force

BY R. H. S. CROSSMAN

London, January 12

SINCE last autumn a new phrase has become part of the currency of Socialist thought here in Europe. "The Third Force" was first coined in France to describe the attempt of the Socialists to form a middle-of-the-way group between the opposing totalitarian blocs of De Gaulle and Thorez. During the recent strike wave it was used to describe the attitude of the "Force Ouvrière," the group of trade unionists headed by Jouhaux which attempted to break the Communist monopoly of power in the C. G. T. and successfully achieved a conciliation between the government and the workers.

Communists and fellow-travelers have been trying to discredit the Third Force in France by confusing it with the Schuman government. They dismiss it as a typical piece of Social Democratic tactics, whose object it is to prepare the way, as Noske did in the Weimar Republic, for a reactionary attack on the working class. This propaganda has been given some verisimilitude by the active participation of right-wing Socialists like Jules Moch in pushing through the anti-strike legislation.

But the real meaning of the Third Force was given in Léon Blum's speech before the Schuman government was formed. Blum himself had been asked to form a Cabinet, predominantly Socialist in character. In his oration before the deputies he went out of his way to castigate both the Gaullists and the Communists for their dictatorial ambitions, thus forfeiting a chance of winning a majority of the deputies. He went on to argue —and this is what caught the imagination of British Socialists—that French democracy could only survive if France became a center of a Third Force in international politics, an independent group of Western European nations united by a democratic Socialist policy.

Though this speech jeopardized his chance of forming a government, it has already had important international repercussions. Blum still enjoys a very great respect and affection in the British Labor movement; and he spoke at the precise moment when the Labor Cabinet in London was casting round for a new constructive form in which to express its foreign policy. In the past weeks, from being the nostrum of minorities like the Keep Left group, the Third Force has become a subject of serious discussion among the members of the inner Cabinet.

Such a change of atmosphere may seem incredible to those who assume that Attlee, Bevin, and Morrison are and have always been hardened adherents of the Anglo-American alliance and the Truman Doctrine. But this assumption is a gross oversimplification. Mr. Bevin has often argued that he was driven, against his own will, into an informal defensive alliance with Mr. Byrnes by the insane Russian offensive against Great Britain, which began with the Persian incident of the winter of 1945-46. He believes that Mr. Byrnes was only too ready to do some very crude horse-trading with Molotov at the Moscow conference and had to be taught the facts of life about Communist methods by the British. On this interpretation the Anglo-American stand against Communist aggression was dictated, so far as Britain was concerned, not by any predilection for America on the part of the Labor government, but by the behavior of the Russians.

It is common knowledge, moreover, that whereas Cripps was a genuine enthusiast for the American loan and for the ideas of multilateral trade implicit in its conditions, Ernest Bevin was far more skeptical about it. Indeed, he agreed to it in Parliament with the harsh argument that "beggars can't be choosers"; and his contacts with American negotiators, in particular with men like Clayton and Snyder, have probably intensified his instinctive dislike of being tied up too closely with American capitalism. Unlike Cripps and his Fabian brains trust, he has no faith in liberal economics or liberal economists. But he has found himself on the horns of a dilemma. Whereas his distrust of Russian intentions forces him to rely on American political support, he realizes that he could only achieve an independent British economic policy by reducing our imports from dollar countries and trading extensively with the Russian bloc. So when Mr. Bevin angrily answers his critics in the party by asserting that he wants an independent British policy as much as they do, he is not just playing to the gallery. He means it—on his own conditions.

Americans have always found it difficult to understand that the main differences between the Foreign Secretary and his critics inside the Labor Party have been not on principle but on timing and tactics. At party conferences Ernest Bevin has found it convenient to accuse all his critics of crypto-communism. But he knows quite well that the crypto-Communists have always been a negligible fraction of the party. The main attacks upon

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him have come from Socialists who are well aware of the dangers of communism but ask whether Ernest Bevin's policy in Spain and Greece and Palestine is the best way of fighting it; who admit the need of armed forces but argue that we cannot afford such big ones; who welcomed Mr. Marshall's Harvard speech even before Mr. Bevin but repudiated the Truman Doctrine, and argued that American aid could only assist Western European reconstruction if it was coupled with a plan for a Western union under Socialist leadership and the restoration of trade relations with Eastern Europe.

Mr. Bevin would not challenge any of these ideas—in theory. His reply has always been, "Give me time and give me coal—then I can fashion an independent Socialist policy. But I refuse to be rushed."

NOW the time seems to have come, and it is futile to indulge in recriminations. Greece is now an American and Palestine a U. N. responsibility. British armed forces are being drastically cut. What lies in the future, and particularly the immediate future?

Here the vital factors are two—the almost incredible improvement in British coal and steel production, coupled with the beginnings of systematic planning under Cripps, and the almost certain failure of the export drive. It is the combination of these two factors which has brought the idea of the Third Force to the forefront in serious political discussions.

Léon Blum

Consider the coal and steel figures first. Eleven months ago we were in the middle of the fuel crisis. Five months ago the Grimethorpe strike and the sag in coal production throughout the country were causing the world press to predict that nationalization would be a proved failure within a few months. But last month the Foreign Secretary could plan to use coal exports as an instrument of diplomacy, and Sir Stafford Cripps could make his steel allocations with some confidence that the engineering industry—on which our exports ultimately depend—would be able to expand output. The difference which this has made is illustrated by Harold Wilson's success in the resumed trade negotiations in Moscow. Last July the talks broke down, and mainly because we could not guarantee deliveries of goods and the Russians therefore, not unnaturally, pressed for payments in convertible sterling. Now, with better planning and improved output figures, deliveries can be guaranteed. Hence Wilson's success. With British industry pulling out of the trough of depression, a Third Force could really be a force, instead of a figure of speech. If British trade with Russia can be expanded into large-scale bulk barter and bulwarked by similar deals with other members of the Eastern bloc and with Argentina, then at last our dollar dependency can be substantially reduced; and, even more important, Mr. Bevin will at last have some modest cards in his hand when he sits down next time to play poker in Washington.

But if our short-term prospects are good, the long-term prospects are still appalling. Rations, at 2,700 calories a day, are below the danger point and will be still further reduced by next March. As a result, the black market, for the first time, is assuming dangerous dimensions. Our share of Marshall aid, helpful as it will be, gives no prospect of bridging the gap, even if we assume an increase of trade with the Eastern bloc. So the export drive must go on relentlessly, and capital reequipment—vital for really reestablishing our export markets—must be postponed.

Has this export drive any chance of permanent success? There are those who believe that it has if a network of bilateral treaties is substituted for the multilateral system to which we once again pledged ourselves two months ago at Geneva. But most economists admit that bilateral barter must drastically reduce the total volume of trade and that this will affect Britain worst of all. On present calculations, if we are to reach Cripps's export targets we must capture 60 per cent of world trade, though we only possess 10 per cent of world production. Neither under multilateralism nor under bilateralism nor with a mixture of both is there a reasonable likelihood of our doing this for any length of time. The fact is that Britain is no longer a viable economic unit, now that the era of cheap imported food has come to an end. Moreover, American mass-production methods have created a situation where most British goods can be undersold in the world markets. More and more Socialists are beginning to realize that the secret of America's industrial success is the size of its domestic market. They conclude from this that Britain only has a future if it can secure an equally large and reliable domestic market. Without this prospect the Cripps plan must be considered merely an expedient for keeping going for a few more months.

It is, indeed, the absence of any long-term solution for our own internal problems which has given new influence to the idea of a Third Force in the various Socialist parties of Western Europe. With the possible exception of Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden, none of the sixteen nations can hope to be solvent when the Marshall Plan is finished. Not only in Britain but in other countries also the area of planning is too small. If we remain separate entities we shall, plan or no plan,

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socialism or no socialism, steadily sink into industrial paralysis. "Federate or perish" is literally true of Western Europe today.

THE Communist offensive in France and Italy and the breakdown of the Foreign Ministers' Conference have also helped the idea of the Third Force. If Labor Britain cannot afford to see Thorez in power in Paris, it equally detests De Gaulle, and it increasingly realizes that the French Socialists can offer nothing to the French working class within the framework of the nation-state. What is needed this spring is cooperation among all the Socialists of Western Europe in devising a program of action which can win back the workers from communism in France and Italy and at the same time save us from becoming strategic dependencies of the United States and permanent financial liabilities as well. In that task Britain, as the strongest and most united country, must take the lead. I should not be the least surprised to see Mr. Bevin take an initiative as bold and a good deal more far-reaching than his action in summoning the Paris conference last summer. But he will not do so unless and until he is fairly confident of securing agreement on a number of practical proposals for immediate action.

WHAT could these practical proposals be? Here there is a sharp division between the views of the functionalists and the federalists. The latter want to start with political action and to plunge straight away into a constituent assembly for the creation of a new federal state of Western Europe. I am quite sure that they are wrong. What Western Europe needs immediately is not political union, or even a customs union, but concerted action for limited objectives. This should include joint machinery for negotiating with the United States on Marshall aid, for receiving that aid, and for distributing it; joint machinery for planning trade with the Soviet Union; joint planning of capital investment, leading in time to international ownership and control of basic industries; and, lastly, a regional multilateralism, in close collaboration with our dominions and overseas dependencies.

Such a program of action would no doubt meet with strenuous opposition in certain American circles, just as it would arouse a chorus of abuse from the Kremlin and the Communist parties. But there is a difference here. Russia would probably do business with us Western Europeans, however we organized ourselves, so long as we have the goods which it needs. After all, it is giving us nothing, and ideology is always kept pretty separate from business in Moscow. But in Washington a Western European union, planning its life on Socialist lines, might expose the dilemma of American foreign policy. Is the United States really prepared to give up the dream of one world of multilateral trading and to permit Marshall aid to be used for creating a planned society in Western Europe, which would have a larger population and nearly as rich natural resources as those of America itself? Will American fear of communism induce it to accept socialism as the bulwark against it? It is because the Labor government fears American reactions that it hesitates to take the initiative in formulating the policy of the Third Force. But most of its members are by now fairly aware that neither British nor Western European recovery is possible without it. Either Marshall aid must be used to create a planned economy in Western Europe, or it will be money down the drain. But will America realize this in time?

THE other great hazard in the way of the Third Force is the political situation in Western Europe and in Germany. Even eighteen months ago the democratic parties, and in particular the Socialists, were still strong enough to dominate the various coalition cabinets. But since then French and Italian politics have been increasingly polarized into a clerical-fascist right and a totalitarian left; and the middle position of the Socialists has been steadily undermined. Léon Blum's party is still formally united, but it is riven by factions. For the first time in the recent strikes it has regained a little influence over the working class. The Italian Socialists are hopelessly split. In Belgium, Holland, and Scandinavia, where communism is not a serious menace, the position of the Socialists is a good deal better. But here the dynamism of V-E Day has given way to humdrum bread-and-butter politics. Western socialism does not *sound* like a fighting creed, and the man in the street is inclined to assume with the Communists that there are really only two sides and that it is too late to do anything but accept either American or Russian leadership.

Of the desperate results of this defeatism Germany is the most glaring example. The Labor government has spent £400,000,000 on the British zone and has nothing to show for it. Over half of all the dollars which we have earned since the war by our exports have been poured into the zone. Now, bankrupted, we are handing over paramountcy to the United States and apparently postponing indefinitely the socialization of the heavy industry of the Ruhr.

Yet one thing is clear. The Third Force will never become real unless it is a Socialist force with a plan that includes the internationalization of Western German industry and its integration into a planned Western European economy. The roots of the Third Force must be firmly planted in the Socialist parties and not in the cabinets of Schuman and De Gasperi. Only if the Socialist parties are revitalized by a common program and recapture a common will to power will they be able to reassert themselves. Without this Socialist renaissance

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a second Paris conference would be as ineffective as the first in creating the instruments of self-help.

Once again we come back to Britain. Since 1945 the Labor Party has been little more than an adjunct of the Labor government, and its influence on Western socialism has been miserably small. If the Socialist parties are to take heart, the Labor Party will have to lose its insularity and take the lead in the campaign for the Third Force. Communist parties in Western Europe draw part of their strength from the feeling that they are backed by a great power, and so do the right-wing parties, which can boast of American backing. Only Socialists are left to fend for themselves. The German Social Democrats, backed openly by the Labor Party, are the exception which proves the rule.

It may be that the pessimists are right and that things have gone too far for any Socialist revival. In that case the Third Force will become the stalking horse for American free enterprise, and the chances of avoiding a complete collapse of Western Europe are small indeed. But I refuse to accept this. Six months ago most foreign journalists were reporting from Britain that we were a dying country and that socialism was finished. A few weeks ago it was confidently stated that a Gaullist dictatorship was inevitable and that the Fourth Republic was dead. I believe that both these prophecies were wrong and that by joining to create a Socialist Third Force Britain and France will save themselves and Europe from the deadly interaction of the Truman and the Molotov doctrines.

The Shortage of News Analysts

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

IF A million listeners—two, three, four million—protested, would radio respond? When do we constitute that mythical "public" which radio claims gets what it wants? The question has relevance for those millions who, though they don't know it yet, are to hear Raymond Swing, as regular news commentator, for the last time on January 25. For some months he has been heard once a week on "sustaining time," but his contract has not been renewed. ABC has failed to find him a sponsor.

Raymond Swing was first heard in this country in 1935. He has been on the air ever since. His audience has ranged from three to eight million, according to the time of his broadcast and the frequency of his appearance at the microphone. He came to radio a seasoned journalist. "I have held," he says, "every job there is on a newspaper outside the business office." He knew Europe intimately. What is more, he understood it. But he knew and understood more than a mere segment of the globe. He had that faculty "to see life steadily and see it whole" which is wisdom.

Beyond this he met the peculiar and exacting demands of radio. Though his voice was not ideal, he conveyed a burning sincerity which produced in the listener the illusion that he was being spoken to personally and in private. He disdained to curry favor. He never hesitated to speak out. His appeal was always to our conscience, and though we might wince, we could not protest, for we knew that he spoke from his own troubled concern about the world.

But a man's performance is to be measured not only by his qualifications and skills but by his conception of his task. Raymond Swing conceived of broadcasting as a herculean labor. He was tormented, almost, by the sense of his responsibility. "When broadcasting first began," he says, "it seemed to offer a promise of democratic enlightenment such as surpassed the dreams of a Jefferson. But what has been accomplished, good as it is, is miserably inadequate to the need and falls miserably short of the opportunity. The world is plunging forward to unprecedented dangers, and only understanding and citizen control can save it. We have all the paraphernalia of adult education and use only a fraction of it. It seems to me the task of broadcasting is to make news analysis listenable, to devote all its skill and imagination to it. With the best, and with the public listening, the world may still be lost. But without it it is almost sure to be." Radio, as he saw it, was "born great." He set himself to serve it greatly.

Intimate as was his manner, he yet conveyed, like a great actor, the tragic implication of the drama unfolding before us on the stage of the world. None surpassed and very few even approximated his capacity to "think like a wise man but communicate in the language of the people." His loss to broadcasting will be felt by many listeners, who never saw him, as a personal one.

The circumstances of Raymond Swing's departure prompt anxious reflection on the present state of news analysis in radio. His own estimate of what radio can

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do to save us from disaster may be too high. But no one who surveys the list of regular news analysts on the four networks today can question that the radio industry's conception of its duty is low to the point of irresponsibility. What regular interpretation of the news are we now getting? On NBC the only commentator heard more than once a week between 6 P. M. and 11:15 P. M. is Hans Kaltenborn; on ABC, Elmer Davis and Earl Godwin; on Mutual, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Henry J. Taylor, and Gabriel Heatter. CBS has a policy which, theoretically at least, precludes personal comment by its news staff, though Edward Murrow, among others, devotes a portion of his broadcast to interpretation.

CAN so few men insure the "understanding and citizen control" needed to save us from "unprecedented dangers"? Do they represent a fair balance of political outlook? How many of them are qualified by experience and ability to weigh the implications of world events? The conclusion of one who has listened to them all is that their number is inadequate and that they are wholly unrepresentative as a cross-section of responsible opinion. By no means all of them seem qualified by experience or ability for their admittedly difficult task. To say this is not to attack the men themselves but the policy which determines their presence on the air.

People are hungry for news over the radio. Many rate it higher, even, than entertainment. But news and news analysis alike are increasingly regarded by the industry as a commodity to be sold, dependent for a place in broadcast schedules on the whim of sponsors. Only a sponsored news analyst has the prime prerequisite of effective service to the listener—a regular time at a reasonable hour. Raymond Swing's own experience is worth citing. "I would build up a good listening public, and the business office would sell it to somebody for an entertainment program. In 1938 I was allowed to broadcast twice a week [Munich] and in 1939 three times. But the hours were changed at shortest notice, as I was only sustaining." As soon as he had a sponsor he wasn't moved, and ten o'clock became so much "his" period that two detective novels had characters who used listening to his program as an alibi. "Unless a program can be sold," Swing says, "it is an orphan in the network family. Nobody pays much attention to it, no conscience is shown as to whether it is being carried throughout the country, its broadcast time is changed, and it is not promoted as a public service."

There are those who question whether a news analyst should be sponsored at all, because of the risk to his integrity and independence. Not only do sponsors tend to select men who are known to have "safe" opinions, but the news analyst, these critics claim, inevitably avoids expression of opinions that may prove unpalatable to the man "who commands the pocketbook." The risk certainly exists. But, given our system of broadcasting, it seems that it must be taken. With proper safeguards written into the news analyst's contract, it should not be necessary to burden a network or station with the cost of his broadcast—provided a responsible and public-spirited sponsor can be found. But what is surely clear is that the presence on each network of a team of news analysts representative of every shade of responsible political opinion should not depend on finding a sponsor. If one cannot be found, the network or station still has a responsibility to provide such service. The network should organize the balanced team. The affiliated stations should have the public spirit to carry them and not to replace them with programs which promise greater profits.

NEWS analysis, in other words, like radio writing in general is, as Norman Rosten has said, "simply an adjunct of advertising. The word is fitted to the product. The product is God. The word is the interval between the announcements of God." It is deplorable that such considerations should determine the policies of a medium which transcends all others in its range and, perhaps, its influence on public opinion. The times are perilous. The need for news analysis is greater, not less, than it has been. To say that listeners are not receptive to such programs is to say what has not been proved or even tested. "Before I shall agree," says Mr. Swing, "that the public will not listen to a wise discussion of world affairs, I should like to have it offered a year's constant access to it. If the public were to be offered first-class news analysis, *in the peak listening period*, I remain to be convinced that it would turn it off."

Raymond Swing

Those who are concerned about this state of affairs should be warned against looking to the FCC for action. It is probably beyond the present powers of the FCC to step in. It may even be undesirable that it should. This is a matter between radio and its listeners, that vast, unorganized public which—until it organizes—is likely to continue to receive short measure. Raymond Swing is already lost to us. Who will be the next to go? Here is something for men of liberal persuasion, Raymond Swing's listeners among them, to think and do something about.

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Fascist Field Day in Chicago

BY GILBERT GORDON

Chicago, January 16

ON DECEMBER 21, 1944, shortly after the famous mass "sedition trial" in Washington had ended in a mistrial owing to the death of the presiding judge, the *Sentinel*, a weekly magazine published for Chicago's Jewish community, printed a story under the headline: "Demand Sedition Trials Continue." The National Committee to Combat Anti-Semitism, it said, had sent a telegram to Attorney General Francis Biddle urging him to initiate immediately a second prosecution of the twenty-six defendants in the sedition case. The story was a reprint of a press release sent out by the committee and included the text of the telegram, which was signed by James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, and other prominent Americans. In the telegram the twenty-six defendants were referred to as "criminals," "traitors," and "pro-Nazis." The story also quoted Dr. Emmanuel Chapman, director of the committee, as having called the defendants "dangerous criminals" and "Nazi-fascist criminals." "These people," it went on to say, "are as guilty of treason today as Benedict Arnold was in his day."

The issue of the *Sentinel* carrying this story came to the attention of Elizabeth Dilling and Joseph E. McWilliams, two of the defendants, and of Maximilian St. George, a Chicago lawyer who had represented several of the others. Eight of the other defendants were then consulted, and the *Sentinel* was sued for libel. Nine of the plaintiffs demanded damages of $10,000 each; Mrs. Dilling asked for $100,000.

Last November the suit was heard in the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, with Judge Donald McKinlay presiding. Augustine Bowe and John D. Casey, attorneys for the *Sentinel*, based their defense on the contention that the allegations of "treason" and so forth were true. For proof they relied primarily on the writings and testimony of the plaintiffs themselves. Albert and Kirkpatrick Dilling, Mrs. Dilling's ex-husband and her son, were her attorneys. Mr. St. George represented the nine other plaintiffs.

For ten days the ghost of Adolf Hitler stalked the courtroom. The malevolent hostility of the leading rabble-rousers in the country against the *Sentinel*, the Jewish people, and all civilized concepts of tolerance, freedom, democracy, and justice was displayed in open court. The jury of six men and six women was apparently affected by this display of Jew-baiting, for after almost eight hours of deliberation it awarded $10,000 to Lawrence Dennis of New York, $9,000 to Joseph E. McWilliams of Chicago, $5,000 to E. J. Parker Sage of Detroit, and $100 to George E. Deatherage of New York. Some of the most notorious anti-Semites in America had received vindication of their views and activities. And one of the largest judgments ever rendered in a libel suit in Cook County was made the punishment for printing a press release! Americans who are appalled by this preview of American fascism in action will be little consoled by the fact that the suits of Charles Hudson of Omaha, Nebraska, Ernest Elmhurst of New York, and Mrs. Dilling ended in mistrials, and that the Sentinel Publishing Company and its owners received verdicts over William R. Lyman, Jr., of Detroit, Robert E. Edmonson of Grass Valley, California, and Colonel Eugene Sanctuary of New York.

LET us take a look at the plaintiffs and their lawyers as they emerged in their testimony at the *Sentinel* trial. Maximilian St. George, the principal attorney, revealed his ideological sympathy with his clients early in the trial when he strongly objected to the statement that the Nazis persecuted the Jews and insisted that they only "put them in their place." He also declared that the ambition of one man—"not Hitler but Roosevelt"—caused the war.

The three Dillings plumbed the depths of bad taste and viciousness. Mrs. Dilling accused Judaism of condoning sodomy and rape, and freely admitted reviling General Eisenhower as "Ike the Kike" and the late Senator Carter Glass as a traitor. At least one of the jurors was sufficiently impressed to try to persuade the others to award her $50,000.

Joseph E. McWilliams, erstwhile leader of the Christian Mobilizers and an open admirer of Hitler, considered it funny to call a rubber truncheon a "kike killer," and said that—until now, at least—he would merely send the Jews to Madagascar, not exterminate them.

E. J. Parker Sage, associate and defender of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front and a prophet of the day when "the coming non-Jewish Order would exist in America," said he favored the legal reduction of Jews to a minority status, but failed to explain whether this should be accomplished by extermination, concentration camps, or merely disfranchisement.

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George Deatherage advocated deporting Jews "like other Asiatics." He used the swastika as the emblem of his American Fascist Union. He favored a military court in the United States and said his purpose in visiting the German embassy was to learn how the Nazis were financed so that he could use the same methods.

Ernest Elmhurst, author of "World Hoax," published by William Dudley Pelley—a vicious "exposé of Jew-communism," replete with salacious tidbits concerning the fate of Gentile womanhood if the Jews should take over—looked, talked, and acted like a Hollywood version of a storm trooper.

Charles Hudson favored a constitutional amendment to deport the Jews, "for their own good, or they might be killed off." He wanted to make Americans aware of the horror that "Jew blood might be used in your little daughter" through the war-time blood banks.

Colonel Eugene Sanctuary attempted, while a reserve officer in the United States army, to give evidence to the German government against his commander-in-chief.

William R. Lyman, Jr., was associated with Sage and Father Coughlin in Detroit.

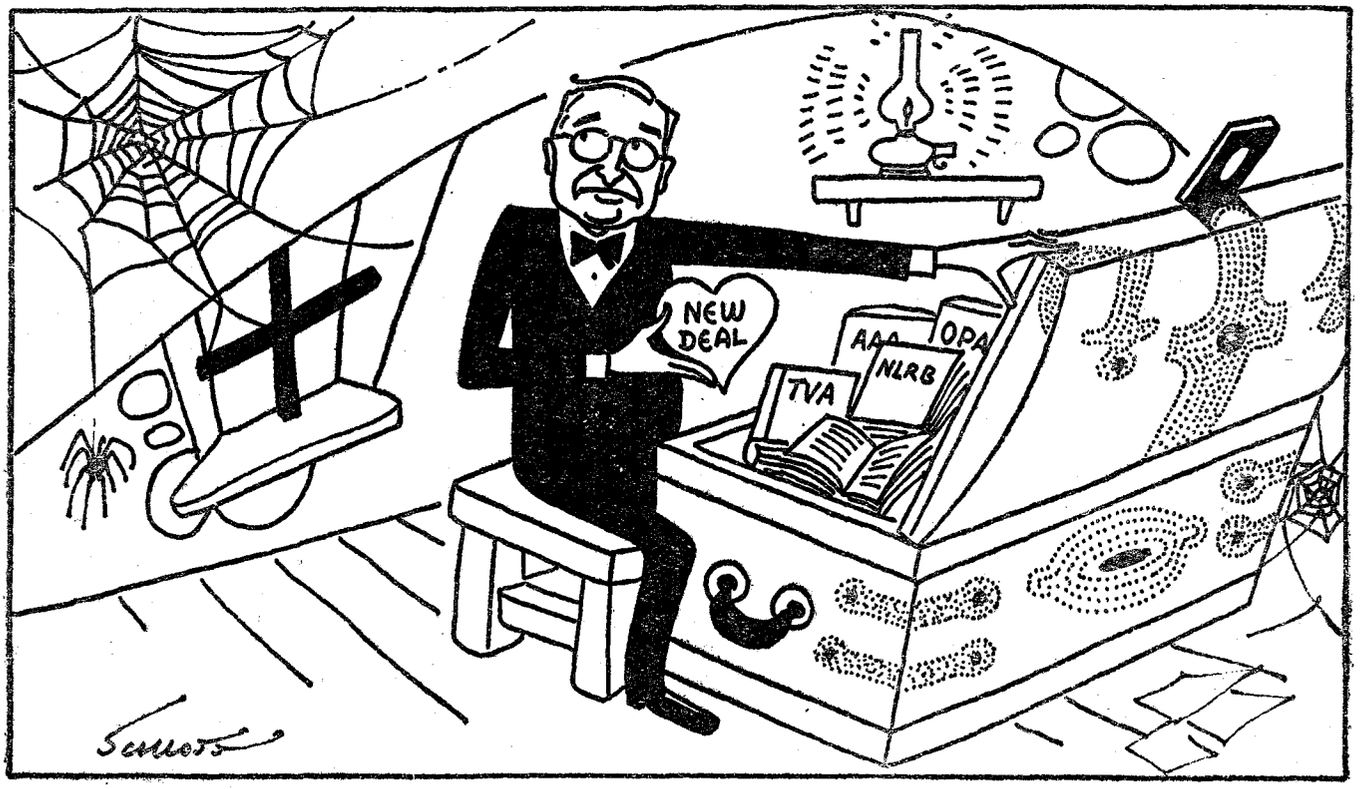
Robert E. Edmonson stated that he joined the case at St. George's solicitation. The attorney, he said, told him that he would not have to pay fee or costs. Edmonson was commended by the Nazi propaganda agency "World Service" for his "valiant fight."

Lawrence Dennis was the only plaintiff who denied being anti-Semitic. His book, however, "The Coming American Fascism"—which the defense unsuccessfully attempted to introduce as evidence *in toto*—has been characterized as advocating the exploitation of the forces of fear and hatred to build a fascist party. In another book, written in collaboration with Maximilian St. George, he accused the Jews of being "the second major group of people" behind the Washington sedition trial.

From the beginning of the trial the plaintiffs succeeded in creating a moral atmosphere in which anti-Semitism acquired dignity. Every juror was expressly questioned on his tolerance of anti-Semitism before being accepted by the plaintiffs. Throughout the trial the jurors heard the sober-faced, serious-talking lawyers for the prosecution rationalize religious bigotry as legally proper and morally defensible. Attorneys Dilling and St. George admitted that their clients were anti-Semitic and said there was nothing wrong in it.

Jurors were asked by the *Sentinel* attorneys whether they were anti-Semitic themselves. After the trial the *Sentinel* brought a sworn petition before Judge McKinlay declaring that one juror had answered falsely when he said he was not biased against Jews and that another had been subjected to outside pressure to bring in a large judgment against "the Jews." The *Sentinel* asked to have these jurors brought into court for examination. The judge refused, saying the verdict had been fair.

Judge McKinlay attempted to preside with fairness, but when Mr. Bowe brought motion for a new trial, he turned down the request. When the *Sentinel* declared it had assets of only $10,000 with which to meet a total bill of $24,100, the judge implied that resources of the Anti-Defamation League were available to the *Sentinel*. In any event, he found the judgment "not excessive."



"REMEMBRANCE OF THINGS PAST"

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The *Sentinel* now plans an appeal to a higher court, but it must raise the $24,100 to post as bond with the court by January 29 or the case goes by default. Various citizens groups are trying to raise the necessary funds.

The defense lawyers refrained for the most part from vigorous challenge until their final argument, on the theory that, given enough rope, the plaintiffs would hang themselves. This tactic might have succeeded with a different jury. Within the limitations of the theory Mr. Bowe did a masterful job in his closing speech for the *Sentinel*. The verdict was not due to any shortcomings of the defense attorney but to the failure of a point of view. Mr. Bowe, by the way, has been sued by Mrs. Dilling for $50,000 for remarks made in his closing speech to the jury.

BECAUSE of the gravity of the case the underlying causes for the failure of the defense should be subjected to the most searching analysis. To begin with, the following points should be noted:

The policy of "hush-hush" demonstrated its bankruptcy. Since American democracy was on trial, the American people should have been more fully informed about the case. It is true that the Chicago typographical-union strike had reduced local news coverage to a minimum, but in addition some members of the community felt that one of the motives of the plaintiffs was to get publicity and that they should not receive that gratification. Many of us now feel that this was a mistake.

In dealing with anti-Semites kid-glove gentility is ineffectual. These enemies of democracy are deadly serious and are not susceptible to delicate treatment. In their fight for the public mind they bar no holds and can be downed only by using the most vigorous and imaginative techniques. Anti-Semites have no respect for dignity of any sort. When Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, president of the Chicago Rabbinical Association, issued a statement describing the *Sentinel* verdict as a travesty on justice, St. George immediately tried to get Judge McKinlay to issue an order placing the rabbi in contempt of court for having "obstructed justice." The judge refused to issue the order.

The average American does not yet realize how important anti-Semitism was for Adolf Hitler as a weapon in his struggle for world domination. Optimistic liberals who doubt the vitality and persistence of organized anti-Semitism and native fascism must be set straight. The professional rabble-rousers are steadily plying their trade, and no one should feel secure simply because he does not hear them. If a jury of native Chicagoans, typical of thousands of Americans, could award Joseph E. McWilliams $9,000, then rabble-rousers must be taken seriously. It is suicidal nonsense to dismiss them as the "lunatic fringe." The jury in the *Sentinel* case did not find them implausible, much less insane.

Personal, political, or social respectability provides no answer to professional anti-Semites and those entranced by them. Democrats, New Dealers, Communists, Socialists, and even some Republicans are all part of the "Jew-Communist conspiracy" to these people. No position to the left of their own will satisfy them.

The classic view that traitorous conduct consists chiefly in selling military secrets to the enemy is philosophically, morally, and legally inadequate.

Looking Backward

Seventy-five Years Ago in "The Nation"

JANUARY 23, 1873.—The *Economist*, which is rarely led astray, has a severe article on "commercial morality in America."

The Pope's last "Allocution" has reached this country. It opens with a lamentation over the condition of Rome, in which "clerical persons have been torn from the foot of the altars and deprived of their immunity, and been summoned to military service" (*anglicè*, monks have been made liable to military service); bishops have been deprived of the right of teaching, and seminaries closed; religious orders driven out, and ecclesiastical property "subjected to an enormous tribute" (*anglicè*, made liable to taxation) and taken possession of by the state. . . . Spain, it appears, is just as bad as Italy, if not worse. That once pious country has not only been "breaking solemn treaties and conventions, but trampling every rule of right and justice under foot," by tampering with the endowments of the clergy. . . . In fact, whichever way the Holy Father turns his eyes, he sees the laity engaged in some form of rascality, and finds consolation only in the conduct of the bishops who have charge of these unruly goats.

Fifty Years Ago

JANUARY 20, 1898.—As was expected, the Senate passed the [immigration] bill on Monday by a vote of forty-five to twenty-eight, all the Republicans . . . supporting it. The salient feature . . . is the application of an educational test. . . . The proposed test was ability to read and write, in English or in the language of the country from which the applicant comes, a passage of the United States Constitution selected at random; but this was changed at the last moment by dropping the writing qualification, upon motion of Senator Spooner of Wisconsin, who said that he had known men to rise to eminence in this country who could read, but could not spell, punctuate, and write with accuracy.

Naval officers and military men have no supernatural gift of virtue. . . . There has long been plenty of evidence that "the jingle of the guinea" was coming to have more power over some officers in the army and navy than the opportunities of their profession. We do not speak of bribery outright; but how many officers have resigned to take service with shipbuilders and armor-plate manufacturers?

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Del Vayo—The Way Out for France

Paris, January 10

IN THIS brief series of articles on France I have tried to uncover the basic causes of the present crisis rather than simply to report its day-by-day manifestations. Some of the events which occurred even while I was writing confirm the substance of my findings: first, that having abandoned the road history charted for it at the moment of liberation, France is now being forced farther and farther down a dangerous political bypath; and, second, that the Third Force in France is no substitute for a coalition of left groups and parties, which alone can establish the conditions necessary to the peaceful revolution for which the majority of the French Resistance fought.

The Schuman Cabinet has had to exert constant pressure on the Assembly, and pose the question of confidence every few hours, in order to rally the two dozen decisive votes needed to put the Mayer plan across. The extraordinary tax measures proposed by the Minister of Finance were adopted last Monday after five successive roll calls, in which the government managed to scrape together an unimpressive majority ranging from thirty-three to thirty-nine votes. The Ramadier Cabinet held out for ten months before its majority finally went to pieces; in barely ten weeks Schuman's majority has proved so unreliable that he must revive it almost daily by transfusions effected chiefly by the threat to resign and leave the way open for De Gaulle.

It is the same old story—French politics is a pendulum that swings perpetually from right to left, never pausing midway. Every major change has taken place at one or the other extremity: Waldeck-Rousseau found support on the left; Clemenceau and Poincaré on the right. The *juste milieu,* as Edouard Herriot has pointed out, is merely the hope of reconciliation, not its realization. That explains why a man of his ability, at the peak of intellectual vigor despite his age, has not sought the role of arbiter in French politics today. The situation does not offer a sufficient prospect of reconciliation and compromise to give stability to a government of the *juste milieu.*

Right or left—there is no escape: the choice must be made. If France's problem were that of awakening the nation to an imminent threat from abroad, perhaps the right could better serve the purpose. Poincaré and Clemenceau proved remarkable leaders during the First World War (though I hasten to add, with all respect to the Chief Resistant of June 18, 1940, that their political capacities were vastly different from his). But the immediate problem before France is to increase production and provide the population with enough to eat. This can only be accomplished if France, as well as the rest of Europe, moves in a Socialist direction; so it is not the right but the left—all the forces of the left united—which can carry through the task successfully.

As long as columnists in the United States and reporters in Paris insist on attributing France's difficulties exclusively to the satanic activities of Moscow and its "servile accomplices" here, the American public will have no understanding of the French situation. The root of the present unrest lies in an economic policy which has been unable to stabilize the cost of living, especially farm prices. Industrial workers are being asked to renew their magnificent effort of 1945 and 1946, an effort that began to set France on its feet but did not give the people, as individuals, any more bread and meat. The result is a growing, justified discontent—fertile ground indeed for strike agitation, past and future.

All the French parties share responsibility for this economic failure. During the period when the Communists, for example, were relying on the ballot, they were prepared to close their eyes to many abuses in order to garner votes in the rural districts. This benevolent attitude toward the farmers was sheer opportunism, and there was no doubt that sooner or later it would have to be abandoned. On the other hand, the slogan of the rightists—*Enrichissez-vous*—whether addressed to the farmer or the industrialist or the business man, has been the traditional battle cry of French reaction since the days of Louis Philippe. Certainly the right is not likely to apply the economic policy France needs today.

The same holds true in the matter of production. Although agricultural output is behind the pre-war level, industrial production is approaching the 1938 mark despite the lack of raw materials. The most violent anti-Communists admit that the first great drive to step up production in 1945 and 1946 was launched by the extreme left. When Maurice Thorez stumped the country exhorting laborers to "Work! Produce!" the effect was felt immediately in the factories and mines of France. But then the slogan meant "work for a new France," not "work so that the old collaborationists can grow rich under the Fourth Republic [as they did under the Third] and finance a rightist coup." Only the left, only those who show the way toward a new social order, can enlist a new effort of the working class toward economic revival.

But to reorient France toward its point of departure at the liberation is not the job of a single party. What is needed is a new coalition of the entire left, built around a strong representation of the working class of France but including those progressive elements to be found in many other sectors —in Herriot's Radical Socialists and even in the left wing of the M. R. P.—that are willing to sacrifice partisan advantage to the survival and recovery of a democratic France. Such a coalition would be based on a limited but concrete program on which each participating group, beginning with the Communists, would pledge itself to stand—a program of internal recovery in which both the pro-Easterners and the pro-Westerners would join in preserving French independence of action in foreign affairs and thus make possible an understanding, or at least an armistice, among the left parties in order to arouse the common effort required to save the nation. This would mean a socialist policy—in a broad, rather than a doctrinaire sense—but the alternatives are chaos or foreign control.

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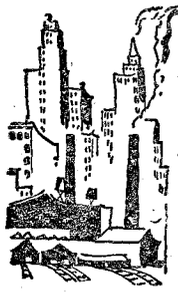

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Wall Street Blues

SINCE the beginning of the year the stock market has been dull and listless, with quotations tending to move lower. To the mystification and chagrin of men about Wall Street, who had been talking of a New Year rally, the dreary 1947 pattern seems to be rolling off the tape machines. In every other field business is booming. Customers scramble for goods; commodity markets are lively and only slightly perturbed by government investigations; real-estate speculation is active; capital investment goes on at a dizzy rate; jobs chase workers; production, profits, and prices hit new records. But with all this busy prosperity, the supposed nerve center of the national economy consistently registers cold feet.

The post-war bull market in stocks reached its peak in May, 1946. Thereafter security prices backed and filled for several months until at the beginning of September they collapsed beneath an avalanche of selling. The period of heavy liquidation proved short, and before the end of the year prices had partially recovered. Nevertheless, the market lacked élan, and ever since, except for a few spasms of bullishness, it has remained extremely lethargic.

Judged by the usual criteria, Wall Street's chief merchandise —corporate equities—became steadily more attractive through 1947. Profits rose an estimated 35 to 40 per cent above the high 1946 level to reach all-time records: 650 companies quoted on "the Big Board" increased dividends during the year; only 84 cut or omitted payments. Investment counselors and journalistic tipsters used millions of words to describe the wonderful bargains waiting to be picked up. But still the customers hung back. In the twelve-month period only 254,000,000 shares were traded on the Stock Exchange—a 27 per cent fall in volume below 1946, not an unusually active year.

Trading was not only slow; it was also very narrow. The range between the year's highs and lows was much less than is normal, and at the end of the year the averages were very nearly the same as at the beginning. The following table illustrates how stagnant the Stock Exchange was in 1947:

	DOW JONES AVERAGES		
	End 1946	*End 1947*	*Range*
Industrials	177.20	181.16	23.64
Railroads	51.13	52.48	12.26
Utilities	37.55	33.40	5.27

So spiritless a market was most discouraging to the professional traders who thrive on fluctuating prices. And the combination of reduced turnover with rising costs of operation sent not a few brokers into the red. Rather desperately, in October, Stock Exchange members voted to raise commissions, but this step was not calculated to encourage business.

In the past Wall Streeters have liked to think of the stock market as a national economic barometer whose movements accurately forecast the business weather four to six months ahead. At the end of 1946 a good many people still took this claim seriously, and the slump in security prices certainly seemed to lend support to the numerous prophecies of a 1947 recession.

Actually there was a recession in the second quarter of last year—it is clearly marked in the Federal Reserve charts—but it was so brief and mild that it passed almost unnoticed. The reason was that new boom-building factors began to make themselves felt just as the consumer-restocking movement started to lose some of its initial post-war impetus. Chief among these factors were the spurt in business investment and the mounting export balance, which took on a new significance after Mr. Marshall brought forward his proposals for underwriting European recovery.

E. R. P. and a huge domestic plant-expansion program, combined with a sustained demand for goods at the consumer level, should keep business active and prosperous for a considerable period, provided business men don't contrive to "price themselves out of the market." New Year statements by leading industrialists were generally optimistic: most of them suggested that there was little chance of any recession in the next twelve months. But those Wall Street blues persist, as the market daily votes "no confidence" in the outlook.

What is the explanation? Emil Schram, president of the Stock Exchange, complains periodically that the market is being suffocated by restrictions on the use of credit and high taxation. The Federal Reserve authorities insist on 75 per cent margins, and as a result there has been some transference of trading funds to the commodity markets, where speculators can get a better run for their money. As for taxation, undoubtedly those in the high brackets have smaller savings to invest in stocks than they did in the palmy twenties. On the other hand, there has been a great expansion in the number of medium incomes and a consequent increase in the number of small investment accounts. In fact, according to the latest Monthly Review of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the chief support for the stock market in 1947, as in other recent years, came from small investors.

It will not be surprising if the stock market becomes increasingly dependent for business on small and medium investors and on institutions. If so, I would expect market swings to be more moderate than in the past, since institutional investors tend to hold stocks over long periods, while small capitalists, with some exceptions, prefer to be investors rather than speculators. It is possible, therefore, that there is nothing very abnormal about the dulness which frets Wall Street; it may be just a characteristic of the new norm. In this case managers of corporations that sell equities to the public will have to make some important adjustments in stockholder relationships. At the present time they like to boast about the wide distribution of their shares, particularly when engaged in wage negotiations, but many of them are prone to snub small shareholders who seek information about company operations and to pursue financial policies geared to the interests of big rather than little investors.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Fat Years and the Lean

PROSPERITY DECADE: FROM WAR TO DEPRESSION, 1917-1929. By George Soule. Rinehart and Company. $5.50.

DEPRESSION DECADE: FROM NEW ERA THROUGH NEW DEAL, 1929-1941. By Broadus Mitchell. Rinehart and Company. $5.50.

ECONOMICS, like psychology, has been shifting from a field of brilliant speculation to a genuine science based on observation and correlation of data.

The classical economists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were largely confined to theorizing about what might be expected to happen under various circumstances, because they had no adequate statistics on which to base a study of what actually did happen.

Since World War I the collection of data on production, profits, wages, cost of living, and many other elements in the economic picture has become a major activity. "Prosperity Decade" and "Depression Decade" constitute the most ambitious attempts yet made to assemble these data into a coherent story. They are Volumes VIII and IX of a projected nine-volume "Economic History of the United States." Only Volume V, on agriculture from 1860 to 1897, has been published previously.

George Soule's study of the period from the United States' entry into World War I to the crash of 1929 is very nearly a model for economic history. A prodigious collection of facts has been organized into a smooth-running narrative, and it would be difficult to cite any major omissions. The story is unobtrusively but thoroughly documented, and there is an excellent bibliography.

On the whole, the author leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions, and it may be that he leans a little backward to avoid bias. While he points out that what happened in the 1920's is not inconsistent with theories of John Maynard Keynes, he says that the theories are not completely proved by the evidence, and he closes with the cautious statement that "there seems to be no simple inoculation the injection of which into the economic body would have maintained its health."

It would be unfair, however, to imply that Soule's approach is either timid or negative. He does not hesitate to suggest possible explanations and interpretations; he is too careful and too honest to make the available facts bear a greater weight of theory than they will support. The book will be invaluable as a text, and for the layman there is no better summary of what happened to prosperity the last time around.

Incidentally, the story of war production and government controls in World War I is told much better than it ever has been before. Many mistakes of 1940-43 might have been avoided if the book had been available then—although it is not so certain that they actually would have been avoided.

Broadus Mitchell's history of the depression decade is more or less similar in form, with separate sections devoted to industry, finance, labor, agriculture, government activities. It is also a well-documented compendium of facts, and reasonably readable. But Soule's objectivity and scrupulous avoidance of bias are almost entirely lacking.

Mitchell writes as a socialist. For example, he says of the banking crisis of 1933, "Some felt at the time, and have continued to believe since, that this was a moment when the country, and Congress, would have followed the President in making the banks national property." A few pages later he adds, "One may be allowed to fear that an economic system which had come so near to self-destruction was scarcely worth the passionate loyalty expressed."

Mitchell is certainly entitled to his point of view, and it may even some day prove to be right. But because he holds it, he fails to give a clear account of the banking reforms of 1933-35, and he does not give an adequate evaluation of what happened in terms of the situation as it existed at the time.

Similarly, in describing the public-works program, he makes no serious attempt to discover whether the Keynes theory of the "multiplier" worked or not. Neither in the text nor in the bibliography does he mention "The Economic Effects of the Federal Public Works Expenditures, 1933-38," by Galbraith and Johnson, which is certainly one of the most important documents of the period.

The author's attitude toward the New Deal, and especially toward President Roosevelt, is apparently colored by a belief that World War II was primarily an effort of imperialist capitalism to escape from depression. The last section is called War to the Rescue, and Mitchell says of the President, "He was himself, in three short years, to lead the clamor to break down and evade the nation's neutrality."

Despite the obvious bias Mitchell is of course quite right in emphasizing the fact that twice within twenty-five years the United States achieved in war an expansion of production and prosperity which was apparently impossible during the intervening years of peace. Soule's book makes it clear that the fabulous twenties did not bring anything like the productivity of which the nation was capable.

Neither of these books suggests a convincing answer to the question of whether the present level of prosperity and production can be maintained and enhanced. Nevertheless, they constitute a major contribution to economic history, and later scholars should be grateful for an impressive job of condensing a previously undigested mass of significant facts. CHARLES E. NOYES

History and Science

THE POETRY OF HISTORY. By Emery Neff. Columbia University Press. $3.50.

MR. NEFF'S book is a defense of history as an art, as a part of literature. His epigraph, appropriately from a great practitioner of the art of history, George Macaulay Trevelyan, sets neatly the tone for the book. "The poetry of history does not consist of imagination roaming at large, but of imagination pursuing the fact and fastening upon it. . . . Just because it really happened, it

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gathers round it all the inscrutable mystery of life and death and time. Let the science and research of the historian find the fact, and let his imagination and art make clear its significance." Mr. Neff begins with brief sketches of the historical work of men of the Enlightenment like Voltaire and Herder, and ends with an even briefer account of Toynbee, but most of his attention is devoted to nineteenth-century writers outside the professional academic traditions set by Ranke and the German university seminar, to Niebuhr, Otfried Mueller, Thierry, Carlyle, Michelet, John Richard Green, Renan, Burckhardt, and others. Of these men, somewhat neglected since the victory of the Ph.D in the writing of history, he writes appreciatively and discerningly, guided by his own standard of history as a "synthesis of literature with science and social consciousness." He is especially good on Michelet, too little or too unfavorably known in the English-speaking world.

In accordance with familiar notions on the relation of attack and defense, Mr. Neff has made one of his liveliest chapters an attack on History as Science. It is a good chapter, but in 1947 not quite as necessary as it would have been a generation ago. Indeed, its effect on some eager and fumbling minds may be one which Mr. Neff did not intend to produce. Mr. Neff's whole work as a scholar and as a teacher shows clearly that he is not an anti-scientist, not in any narrow sense an anti-intellectual, not one who seeks to discredit the instrument of thought. These matters bristle with semantic difficulties, but let us say that Mr. Neff dislikes the kind of doctrinaire thinking that culminated in nineteenth-century scientific positivism, that he dislikes the fictional M. Homais and the only too real Herbert Spencer, and that he considers that the importation into the writing of history of methods and attitudes developed under the vogue of nineteenth-century scientific positivism has been bad for the writing—and reading—of history. These opinions as to the dangers and weakness of "scientific" history are surely shared today even by professionally trained academic historians. Mr. Neff has, however, been carried away at times by the ardor of his attack and, like many who try to right the always difficult balance between what we may in despair call the head and the heart, has perhaps tipped the balance too far in the opposite direction.

In these days, especially, it is a disservice to liberalism in any of its sensible meanings to attack that important part of the liberal tradition represented by natural science. And of course Mr. Neff does not attack science. In his final chapter, on Twentieth-Century Thought in Search of a Historian, he has some excellent pages on the revolution in contemporary science. "The creative achievements of physics during the past fifty years," he writes, "contradict the popular impressions of science and scientists that have come down from the comparatively routine and orthodox physics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Science, it seems, is not dogmatic, does not arrive at absolutes, is as flexible, as open-minded, as adventurous as any romanticist ever found poetry to be. It is not and cannot be a religion. Herbert Spencer just didn't understand science, and certainly didn't often practice it.

The trouble with the historians who proudly called themselves "scientific" was that they, too, did not really understand science, though their failure was not always quite as heroic as was Herbert Spencer's. This fact Mr. Neff should have made more clear to his readers. The run-of-the-mill product of the Ph.D. training in history is just bad, and it would not have been better had its producer yearned to be a poet instead of aspiring to be a scientist. By and large, indeed, it is probably safer for ordinary people to try to be scientists than to try to be poets.

CRANE BRINTON

F. D. R. at School

F. D. R., HIS PERSONAL LETTERS: EARLY YEARS. Foreword by Eleanor Roosevelt. Edited by Elliott Roosevelt. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. $5.

EVEN the childhood letters of a great man possess a special fascination, and the youthful correspondence of Franklin D. Roosevelt is no exception. "Two new boys have come to the school," the young Grottie writes, "Edwin Corning, whom you know, and a McCormick boy from Chicago." Or the Harvard *Crimson* editor upon President Theodore Roosevelt: "In spite of his success in settling the coal strike I think that the President made a serious mistake in interfering. . . . His tendency to make the executive power stronger than the houses of Congress is bound to be a bad thing."

Few of the letters contain so much of substantive interest; but, in bulk, they are remarkably successful in evoking the remote world of Groton and Harvard around the turn of the century—the world which shaped Roosevelt's manners and impulses and without which his subsequent course cannot be understood. They show a youth not at all unhappy in his patrician, Edwardian environment, delighting—as he would the rest of his life—in its parties and its chitchat; but not altogether satisfied by it either, thus expending excess energies in taking care of an old Negro woman in Groton, in sympathizing with the Boers, in running the Harvard *Crimson*. It is too bad that the Harvard letters are so much less frequent and detailed than the Groton letters.

The Roosevelt family deserves every congratulation for bringing out these letters so quickly and with such editorial care. Elliott Roosevelt, as editor,

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appears to have done a highly scrupulous job of reproducing texts without alteration, even in spelling or punctuation; the notes identifying names and incidents are full and accurate; and the few deletions, mostly of inconsequential personal remarks, are clearly indicated and are almost certainly without importance.

A second volume, covering the period 1905-28, is under preparation. If it maintains the high editorial standards of this volume, it should be of the most intense interest to the historian and to the general reader.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Jewish Resistance

BLESSED IS THE MATCH. By Marie Syrkin. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

TENDERLY and truthfully Marie Syrkin has told the story, gathered from surviving people and from documents, of Jewish resistance to Nazi mass murder during the war. To call this book terrible and tragic is an understatement. To read it is an obligation. Miss Syrkin has given voice to the voiceless in the crematoriums, and fashioned a memorial for those who died unseen and unheard in the ghetto struggles. In these pages one sees the human unwillingness to face the full import of evil which so often enabled the Germans to fool their victims to the very doors of the gas chamber. One sees the heart-breaking struggle of a few to awaken and organize the mass for resistance. One sees the still incredible limits to which anti-Semitism in modern times can go, and the indifference of the superficially "sympathetic" outside world. Of one rescue effort Miss Syrkin reports that a "high British official," in discussing the proposal with a member of the Jewish Agency, "so far forgot himself as to exclaim, 'But what will we do with them?'" The gas chambers were deplorable, but the gates of Palestine were kept shut against any Jews who might escape.

This simply told and moving story makes it easier to understand why so few Jews are anti-Zionists today and why a minority of desperate youth turned to terrorism; it shows how pitifully close are cowardice and courage in the hearts of men. I. F. STONE

The Issue Remains

FROM DREYFUS TO PETAIN. THE STRUGGLE OF A REPUBLIC. By Wilhelm Herzog. Creative Age Press. $3.50.

THE title is most apposite. The Dreyfus case is not ancient history, like the case of the diamond necklace; it is with us today. Maurras, the brains of anti-Dreyfusism fifty years ago, was the intellectual power behind Pétain's shaky throne. The Dreyfus case was a great campaign in the eternal warfare between the people's republic and the ancient regime: sixteenth of May (MacMahon's coup d'état), Boulanger, Panama; yesterday, Croix de Feu and Cagoulards against Front Populaire; tomorrow, De Gaulle against the Communists.

There are three internationals—black, red, and gold (as in the old German flag). Between the three the petit-bourgeois mind, which is parochial, is bewildered. Herzog somewhat overemphasizes the black, or clerical, and underestimates the gold, or capitalistic. There were Catholic Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusist Jews. The author's sympathies are openly with the red.

The book has therefore a truly historical sweep, and I happen to agree with its spirit—or bias. I deeply regret that I have to speak harshly of an unknown friend. The work is badly constructed. It tells the story over and over again, with each of the protagonists as a center—a "Ring and the Book" technique, but Herzog is no Browning. With many repetitions and no straight narrative the effect is confusing. The style may be good German; the translation is unidiomatic. As a sample, neither French nor English uses *Gymnasium* for secondary school. Although the author must have done a great deal of research, his text is full of minor but annoying blemishes. Just in the first few pages: it was not the Pretender, the Duke of Orleans, who embraced Esterhazy, but his cousin, the explorer, Prince Henri of Orleans. Dreyfus was recommissioned not as a lieutenant colonel but as a major. Roger Martin du Gard's Dreyfus novel, perhaps the best document on the crisis, is not the later "Thibauts," but "Jean Barois." And so on. The story of the Dreyfus case, brief, popular, scholarly, remains to be written.

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"The Wing of Imbecility"

INTIMATE JOURNALS. By Charles Baudelaire. Translated by Christopher Isherwood, with Introduction by W. H. Auden. Marcel Rodd Company. $3.

EVERYONE interested in Baudelaire should be glad that this book has been reprinted; it was first published seventeen years ago in a limited edition which had become almost unobtainable. Isherwood has made hardly any changes in his original text but has written a preface; a new introduction by Wystan Auden replaces the T. S. Eliot essay which formed part of the 1930 edition.

"Intimate Journals" is a misnomer, a title given to these notebooks by Baudelaire's friends. They are composed of two parts, "Fusées" and "My Heart Laid Bare," and probably are the notes taken by Baudelaire while reading Poe and Joseph de Maistre, the men who—as he said—taught him how to reason. "What we have here," writes Isherwood, "is an assortment of wonderful fragments, cryptic memoranda, literary notes, quotations, rough drafts of prose poems, explosions of political anger and personal spleen." They are all of that. When Baudelaire died, a lot of loose papers were left in the hands of his intimate friends, and it was Poulet-Malassis who made two bundles of these sheets, after putting them in some kind of order according to whether the heading on each sheet read "Fusées" or "My Heart Laid Bare." He was unfortunately very careless in sorting them. Poulet-Malassis was extremely busy at the time and, besides, may not have thought these papers important—at least, he made no attempt to publish them. When they were actually published by someone else more than twenty years later, this jumbled order was retained, and it has been retained in every subsequent edition, including Isherwood's. (In telling about this I'm trying to simplify a textual matter which is really pretty complicated, but I want to show how this business leads Auden, in part of his introduction, into unwitting sentimentality.)

Jacques Crépet, the master Baudelairean, in his new edition of 1938 proves beyond any doubt that Poulet-Malassis had carelessly placed at the very end of the notebooks—that is to say, at the end of the "My Heart Laid Bare" section—those famous six pages which belong instead at the end of "Fusées"; in these pages, headed Fusées, Hygiène, . . . Projets, Baudelaire exhorts himself to a change of heart and to fight against his *acedia;* here he plans a division of his time to enable him to write the articles and poems he has in mind, and vainly urges himself to earn the money with which to hold off the pack of creditors whose increasing pursuit forced him to change his lodgings every few days. And here too occurs that passage which everyone used to know by heart: "In the moral as in the physical world I have been conscious always of an abyss. . . . I have cultivated my hysteria with delight and terror. Now I suffer constantly from vertigo, and today, 23 January, 1862, I have received a singular warning, I have felt passing over me the wind of the wing of imbecility."

This section formed a moving and an anguished closing to the entire "Intimate Journals," a poignant climax to a great human tragedy. But Baudelaire did not die till five years later, in 1867, after having been horribly paralyzed for an entire year and deprived of all power of speech. It should be noted also that the lines just quoted, from "Fusées," present one of the very rare instances in the notebooks where Baudelaire mentions a date—1862. Isherwood says that "Fusées" was probably written before 1857. He is mistaken. It covers approximately the period 1855-62, and "My Heart Laid Bare" the period 1859-66; so that there is an overlap of about four years. Instead of a return to grace just before his death—as the Catholics and W. H. Auden claim—Baudelaire suffers an access of panic in 1862 at the first intimation of his death. He wants to change his life, to provide for the mother he both loved and detested, and to prove to her that he is a great man. Like Rimbaud, the longer he lives the greater his guilt at not having become —what he most despised—the successful bourgeois his mother wanted him to be. Yet when Baudelaire overcomes his fright he begins writing the most savage prose to be found in any literature—long articles which curse some unfortunate idiot whose doltishness infuriates Baudelaire to such a pitch of blasphemy as to make Flaubert's private correspondence seem mild. He must have known these writings could not be published, but they served the purpose of an indispensable catharsis. Later, during the utter misery of his stay in Brussels, he writes his futile masterpiece against the Belgians, and his life is spent in seeking revenge against these people who have become the symbol of all that he loathes. In March, 1866, while on an excursion with some friends, he suddenly falls to the ground, paralyzed. Very soon afterward he loses the function of speech. Imagine Baudelaire struck with aphasia! His friends obtain his admission to a Brussels hospital, from which they are compelled to remove him because the sisters of mercy think him the devil incarnate and go about the place muttering the prayers for the exorcism of demons: Baudelaire is still capable of uttering five words, composing two horrible curses: "Cré nom" and "Sacré saint-ciboire," the first applied to God, the second to his mother.

Wystan Auden writes:

The last few pages in "My Heart Laid Bare," which follow this entry [that is,

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". . . the wind of the wing of imbecility"] are some of the most terrifying and pathetic passages in literature. They present a man fighting against time to eradicate a lifetime's habits of thought and feeling, and set himself in order and acquire a history. . . .

Between the Dandy and this lies a real change of heart which is lacking, I think, in that subsequent and more spectacular decision by which Rimbaud the poet became Rimbaud the trader. In the latter it only seems as if one kind of Dandy were exchanged for another; the same pride, the same desire to be unique, emanates from both. In Baudelaire's case what makes the note of humility sound true is that he does not propose to make any outward spectacular change in his career, to vanish from poetry in a cloud of publicity [?]: no—he merely prays that he may use his talents better and acknowledges that, gifted though he may be, he, the Dandy, is as weak as a woman, M. Prudhomme, or the Belgians.

Sacré saint-ciboire! It simply won't do. However, it is only the very last paragraphs of Auden's essay which make me feel uncomfortable. The greater part of it is wonderful reading. Even when one feels slightly uncertain about its relevance to Baudelaire, there is always the conviction that it offers perfect insight into Auden's own situation in 1947.

Isherwood's translation could not be improved on. But pages 106 to 112 should come between pages 59 to 63. And "the wind of the wing of *imbecility*," Isherwood! Not ". . . of *madness*," as you translate. All the essence of Baudelaire's character lies in his choice of that word *imbécillité*. True, Hugo would have said *madness*.

RENE BLANC-ROOS

In Early Issues of The Nation

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REVIEWED BY ERNEST KIRSCHTEN

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

NINETEEN FORTY-SEVEN seems to have been one of the best of recent years for American painting. I doubt whether it is simply a transient illusion that makes me note so much progress by known painters and see so much promise in so many newcomers.

The abstract canvas "Strata at Broken-Moon Cut" in Worden Day's first show, at Bertha Schaeffer's (through January 24), is as concrete in the excellence of its flat, cut-out Red Indian blacks and reds as the wall it hangs on. Miss Day's originality is narrow but her level is high, and the utterly two-dimensional field in which her talent has chosen to risk itself is the most uncompromising of all for contemporary artists. However, in spite of the mystical pretensions announced by the titles of Miss Day's pictures and her own catalogue note, her art does not as yet go beyond felicity, does not say enough yet to be important.

Carl Holty is a painter who, it seems to me, has struggled for years with his own greatest gift—his enormously facile draftsmanship, which comes from Germany and submits unwillingly to the canons of post-cubist art. Holty's latest show, at the Kootz Gallery (through January 24), is his best yet, for here at last decoration begins to be overcome by easel painting. In such pictures as "Cup of the Sea," "Le Flambeau," "The Golden Unicorn," and "With Dim Eyes" (I wish someone would caution modern painters about their titles) the play of line subordinates itself to the placing of color masses, and the picture no longer annihilates itself in repetitious calligraphic rhythms (as William Hayter's paintings, at Durand-Ruel's this month, still do), but becomes centered and dramatically unified. Holty's color is still, however, much too thin and his handling of surface too transparent, and for these reasons his art still remains trapped in impressionist feeling —which by now is equivalent to academicism. It continues to amaze me how anyone commanding his craft as Holty does can let himself be satisfied with

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such dim, un-intense effects. If he maintains his present rapid rate of progress he will find himself, I think, soon faced by a crisis—a crisis that will involve his capacity for emotion and be precipitated by the fact that his prowess as a painter will have so little to exert itself on.

Jackson Pollock's most recent show, at Betty Parsons's (through January 24), signals another step forward on his part. As before, his new work offers a puzzle to all those not sincerely in touch with contemporary painting. I already hear: "wallpaper patterns," "the picture does not finish inside the canvas," "raw, uncultivated emotion," and so on, and so on. Since Mondrian no one has driven the easel picture quite so far away from itself; but this is not altogether Pollock's own doing. In this day and age the art of painting increasingly rejects the easel and yearns for the wall. It is Pollock's culture as a painter that has made him so sensitive and receptive to a tendency that has brought with it, in his case, a greater concentration on surface texture and tactile qualities, to balance the danger of monotony that arises from the even, all-over design which has become Pollock's consistent practice.

In order to evolve, his art has necessarily had to abandon certain of its former virtues, but these are more than compensated for. Strong as it is, the large canvas "Gothic," executed three years ago and shown here for the first time in New York, is inferior to the best of his recent work in style, harmony, and the inevitability of its logic. The combination of all three of these latter qualities, to be seen eminently in the strongest picture of the present show, "Cathedral"—a matter of much white, less black, and some aluminum paint—reminds one of Picasso's and Braque's masterpieces of the 1912-15 phase of cubism. There is something of the same encasement in a style that, so to speak, feels for the painter and relieves him of the anguish and awkwardness of invention, leaving his gift free to function almost automatically.

Pollock's mood has become more cheerful these past two years, if the general higher key of his color can be taken as a criterion in this respect. Another very successful canvas, "Enchanted Forest"—which resembles "Cathedral," though inferior in strength—is mostly whitish in tone and is distinguished by being the only picture in the show, aside from "Gothic," without an infusion of aluminum paint. In many of the weaker canvases here, especially the smallest, and at the same time in two or three of the most successful—such as "Shooting Star" and "Magic Lantern"—the use of aluminum runs the picture startlingly close to prettiness, in the two last producing an oily over-ripeness that begins to be disturbing. The aluminum can also be felt as an unwarranted dissimulation of the artist's weakness as a colorist. But perhaps this impression will fade as one grows more accustomed to Pollock's new vein. I am certain that "Phosphorescence," whose overpowering surface is stalagmited with metallic paint, will in the future blossom and swell into a superior magnificence; for the present it is almost too dazzling to be looked at indoors. And the quality of two other pictures, "Sea Change" and "Full Fathom Five," both in much lower key, one black-green and the other black-gray, still remains to be decided.

It is indeed a mark of Pollock's powerful originality that he should present problems in judgment that must await the digestion of each new phase of his development before they can be solved. Since Marin—with whom Pollock will in time be able to compete for recognition as the greatest American painter of the twentieth century—no other American artist has presented such a case. And this is not the only point of similarity between these two superb painters.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

JOSÉ FERRER, Richard Whorf, et al., were laudably inspired to form the New York City Theater Company for the purpose of providing some plays at the City Center. They are good and versatile actors of whom much may be expected even though their first production, Ben Jonson's "Volpone," is somewhat ill advised. The groundlings seem well enough pleased with the knock-about farce they have provided, but no one who knew the play only as they have presented it would ever suspect that "Volpone" is actually an astounding work of a very nearly unique kind.

I am not, I think, priggish about such matters. None of Jonson's plays is, like many of Shakespeare's, a "natural" for the contemporary theater, and the best of them can stand a certain amount of adaptation. Even in his own day, or at least shortly thereafter, audiences began to find his copiousness almost more than they could take. He can never let go of a theme or a subject. He piles incident upon incident and detail upon detail until the result is not wholly unlike that produced by some realistic novelists who can find no reason, once they have gone so far, to stop at one place rather than another. Nimiety is a word which might have been invented to fit him, and there can be too much even—as he might have said—of the gelastic. But it is not necessary in the course of adaptation to leave out his essential quality. The Stefan Zweig version of "Volpone" which was done here some years ago was drastic enough, but it communicated a good deal of what the original did, and that is precisely what cannot be said of either text or production at the City Center.

Richard Barr, who is listed as the director, begins with a gag which might have been—indeed, probably was—used by the Marx brothers. Volpone's attendants turn back the covers of his bed, and a girl in a union suit leaps screaming out. Mr. Ferrer, in the title role, then races through Volpone's magnificent

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apostrophe to his gold as though it were merely something to be got rid of as soon as possible, and from that moment the pandemonium is seldom interrupted. It is doubtful whether so many kicks in the rear were ever before administered in the course of one evening, and I, at least, would be willing to forgo a few of them in exchange for an intelligible reading of a few more of the lines.

I do not mean to suggest that "Volpone" should not be rough and bawdy. The original is all of that. But the thing that makes it remarkable is the almost unique combination of these elements with something somberly magnificent. The comedy is the comedy of total depravity, but the depravity must be real; and the effect of reducing it to mere farce is much the same as that produced when "Tobacco Road" was played for nothing except the laughs. "Volpone" is sinister as well as funny. It is a sort of Vision of Sin or Danse Macabre. To Jonson, vice was a creature of hideous mien even when exhibited, as he exhibited it, in antic guise. And of all this the present production really gives no hint. Perhaps Mr. Ferrer and the rest are familiar with Milton's reference to "Jonson's learned sock" and have mistaken the meaning of the last word. Milton was not referring to kicks in the pants, nor did he mean that the plays were what *Variety* would call socko.

Some of the horseplay is really funny, and there are some striking ingenuities in the staging. The fancy of arranging the desks of the three judges one behind the other and each higher than the one in front is curiously amusing. So too is the increasing size of the gifts brought to Volpone, including a pearl the size of a baseball which Mosca will not accept until he has the proper answer to his question "'Tis orient?" Something should also be said of the performance of John Carradine as the lawyer Voltore. God has given him a rangy figure perfectly suited to be made into the very image of the old caricatures of the Shakespearean tragedian, and he plays his role on that theme. His antics are performed with imperturbable gravity and are ten times funnier than they would be if he did not seem wholly unaware of their grotesqueness, so absorbed in his avarice as to have no mind for anything else. He is, moreover, the only member of the company who seems to consider that what he has to say is of any importance and hence the only one who says it with any effectiveness. If all the big speeches had been made to count as he makes his address to the judges count, then the present production would have come a great deal nearer to doing Jonson justice.

No one who watches the contemporary theater can have failed to notice that the man in the street is much more ready today than he was a few years ago to assume that the plays of the past may still be worth doing and also much more ready to take them on their own terms. That means, among other things, that he is ready to laugh with rather than merely at Ben Jonson. I wish that those responsible for the present production had been readier to assume that Jonson *is* funny and not, as appears to have been the case, that they could *make* him so.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

HEARING Bach's Christmas Oratorio for the first time—when Robert Shaw performed it recently with his Collegiate Chorale—I found it to be similar to his other large choral works in the fact that some of it was deeply affecting but much of it was not. What I found unimpressive was the solo arias and many of the extended choral sections; what I was moved by, in addition to a few of those choral sections, was the chorales; and most affecting, for me, were the passages of joint recitative—of solo voice and chorus, or, if I remember correctly, of several solo voices. Mr. Shaw, who last year gave the B minor Mass with only fifty or sixty singers, this time used a large chorus, which in the extended choral passages produced long stretches of stunningly beautiful but undifferentiated massed vocal sound, and which I enjoyed more in the chorales where its singing was sensitively molded. The solos were well sung by Lydia Summers, contralto, John Garris, tenor, and Chester Watson, bass-baritone, but not by Mariquita Moll, soprano; and I have heard better singing by William Hess, tenor, than he did in the Evangelist's narrative. There was some beautiful playing of wind instruments in the obbligatos.

I heard Stravinsky's Piano Concerto—the first of his neo-classical works, if I am not mistaken—twenty or more years ago, and disliked it as I continued to dislike the works that followed it. And it was interesting, recently, to hear it again after the twenty years and in the light of those other works; to hear in it the first use of the method he has continued to use with increasing elaboration and slickness—the obsessive *ostinatos,* the rhythmic perversities, the parodistic references to jazz; and to enjoy what I used to dislike but have recently begun to find enjoyable.

One of those later works, "Danses Concertantes," was performed by Thomas Scherman with his Little Orchestra in a way that confirmed my earlier impression of his competence. The program was one of the two or three good ones that Mr. Scherman put together, with enough good music to carry whatever else he presented—in this case a Concertino for clarinet and orchestra by Busoni which was as inconsequential as it was uncharacteristically pretty. Unfortunately I could not stay for the two pieces by Delius and Mozart's Clarinet Concerto; and I therefore cannot report on Benny Goodman's playing in that concerto. But in the Busoni piece he played the notes with as much musical life as one would put into the clarinet equivalent of a Czerny exercise.

The participants in the performance of Blitzstein's "The Cradle Will Rock" that Leonard Bernstein conducted at City Center gave me the impression of considering themselves engaged in an especially noble activity that would wash them clean—like the participants in the first performance of "Parsifal" at Bay-

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reuth. And for the audience Blitzstein's treatment of his subject—life in a steel town during a union drive—on the theatrical level of "Nellie the Beautiful Cloak Model" apparently constituted Truth in profoundly moving dramatic terms. I find this as depressing as the fact that there are people for whom Upton Close is a political scientist, Arthur Godfrey a humorist, Galen Drake a philosopher. There is more to say about Blitzstein's work, but it will have to wait; and I am hoping that Wolcott Gibbs will describe its ideas and incidents and words and thus save me the trouble.

The big work of Ballet Society's opening program of the season was Balanchine's Sinfonie Concertante to Mozart's K.364 for violin and viola. It offered an equivalent in dance terms of the interplay of soloists and orchestra of the Mozart concerto form—the two outer movements characteristic in their richness and intricacy of texture, the middle movement a slow *pas de trois* of two girls supported by a boy that was still another in the endless series of Balanchine's wonderfully imagined creations in this style, and the whole work marvelously contrived for the special qualities of the dancers, and in particular of the soloists, Maria Tallchief and young Tanaquil Leclercq, each of whom performed superbly in her own style.

But there was in addition Fred Danieli's first ballet, "Punch and the Child" (music by Richard Arnell), which was remarkable in the sinister atmosphere it created with the help of Horace Armistead's scenery and costumes, and in the originality of its dance invention—especially for the appearances of Judy and Polly (brilliantly danced by Beatrice Tompkins and Gisella Caccialanza) in the second scene. And there was a shortened version of William Dollar's "Highland Fling," which was charming and beautifully done by Miss Caccialanza, Elise Reiman, and Todd Bolender.

The Monte Carlo Ballet Russe will offer a revival of "Giselle" in its February-March season at City Center. Danilova will dance in all performances of this work, of "Coppelia," and of "Swan Lake"; but there is no way of knowing what appearances she will make in other works unless the management publishes casts, as it ought to do.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The P. C. A.'s Position on Henry Wallace

Dear Sirs: I have read with interest *The Nation's* recent editorial on P. C. A.'s Quixotic Politics. Written before Mr. Wallace had announced his candidacy, it declared he should reject as "unwise" appeals to make the race. Subsequently *The Nation* announced its "regret" that he chose to run.

The decision of P. C. A.'s Executive Committee and its many state organizations to urge Wallace's candidacy was made only after much searching analysis of the political realities in America today, and of the alternatives open to American progressives to stop the tide which P. C. A.—and *The Nation*—recognizes is leading toward depression and loss of civil liberties at home and world conflict abroad.

P. C. A. is convinced that this tide will not be stopped by a Democratic Party under the leadership of the author of the Loyalty Order and the Truman Doctrine—the man who called for legislation to draft strikers in 1946, who failed to rally even a majority of his own party against the Taft-Hartley law, and who has called price controls a "police-state" measure. We do not believe it will be stemmed by a party whose leadership has fallen increasingly into the hands of the machine bosses and its Southern poll-tax wing. We do not believe the present tide will be stopped by the Wall Street and military appointees who now occupy the Cabinet and other administrative posts formerly occupied by New Dealers or, at any rate, by civilians.

Despite valiant opposition of progressive Democrats, the Democratic Party has moved so far to the right that on the fundamental issues of our time—peace, jobs, and freedom—differences between the two parties are almost negligible. P. C. A.—and Henry Wallace—believe that when the American people go to the polls next November they should have an opportunity to vote for alternatives to war, depression, and witch hunts.

Indeed, it is our conviction that if they are offered no real alternatives, they will, as they have done in the past in such predicaments, stay away from the polls on Election Day. Historically, the size of the Democratic vote has varied relative to the degree of liberal leadership within the Democratic Party and the degree of clarity and enthusiasm around issues.

If the voters in 1948 are presented with only a choice between Truman and the Republican candidate, the millions of independents who elected F. D. R. will not vote and will not actively participate in the campaign. The "lesser of two evils" argument may be appealing in parlor talks; it is not a sufficiently strong stimulus to send the millions of independent voters out on an active fighting campaign—without which progressive candidates have always been defeated.

We believe Truman would be defeated in 1948 with or without a third candidate in the field. And we believe Henry Wallace's candidacy on an independent ticket will provide the stimulus essential to bringing to the polls a large vote turn-out in 1948—lacking which, progressive candidates for Congress in the nation's many marginal districts will also go down to defeat as so many were defeated by the small vote turn-out in the 1946 Congressional election.

It is curious to me to see *The Nation* advance as one of its arguments against Wallace's candidacy the fear that now "the G. O. P. will believe it can win with anybody and will do no fancy experimenting with pseudo-liberals and popular generals." Is Republican "experimenting" with pseudo-liberals and generals a cause espoused by *The Nation?* Can American progressives afford to map their program for action on the basis of whether or not they might contribute to the nomination of one Republican Presidential aspirant over another?

But *The Nation's* principal objection to Wallace's candidacy appears to be on the question of timing, and the reasoning here strikes me as very strange indeed.

It is hard to understand how *The Nation's* observation that "by 1952 the fate of the American economy may well have been sealed and the question of war and peace decided" should lead it to oppose the only movement which can effectively organize and make vocal the voice for peace, jobs, and freedom in America.

Because the times are so critical, the issues so crucial, and the importance of the election so "abnormal," we feel it is the responsibility of all American lib-

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erals to organize *now* to give powerful and effective expression to the yearning for peace, jobs, and freedom among our people. We can halt the drift to depression and war only if we build a people's machine now.

Indeed, a Wallace third party could not be better "timed" according to *The Nation's* own analysis that time is running short.

What of the argument that labor and liberal groups will not support Henry Wallace? P. C. A., now rooted in over 600 communities throughout the land, believes that they will.

So far as P. C. A. itself is concerned, *The Nation* is in error in its assertion of any serious split within our own ranks. Of 140 National Board members, only six have resigned in opposition to the Wallace candidacy.

As for the labor vote, let one thing be clearly understood: nobody controls the labor vote. Newspaper editorials did not turn American workers against F. D. R. Nor did John L. Lewis. Labor is not so easily fooled about who are its friends and who are its enemies. In 1946 the best efforts of labor leaders failed to move American workers to go to the polls to choose between Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

Henry Wallace is the only Presidential candidate today who can come before American labor with a clean record. I have seen Wallace speak before plant gates and meet informally with local leaders in city after city across the country, and I can say that if you underestimate the feeling for Henry Wallace among the rank and file of American workers you are making a cardinal political error. Already in the short time since Wallace's announcement of his candidacy, letters and wires of support by the thousands have poured in, including hundreds from union locals and individual local labor leaders throughout the country.

The Nation declares that Wallace's candidacy will "confuse" progressives and will fail to establish a mass base for a future third-party movement. It is not Henry Wallace who will "confuse" progressives by his clear-cut affirmation for peace through the United Nations, for full employment through high living standards and a free labor movement, for democracy through civil liberties for all Americans.

The responsibility for any confusion among American liberals must, in truth, be borne by those who still insist on confusing pretty words for deeds, and labels for definitions. The issues themselves are clear enough. The responsibility of American progressives is to speak up and to organize for peace, security, and freedom today when all are threatened. That is the purpose of Henry Wallace's candidacy. Those millions of Americans who want a world of peace and prosperity are his mass base. No other candidate can claim their allegiance.

The time has come for progressives to stand up, organize, and be counted.

C. B. BALDWIN,
Executive Vice-Chairman, P. C. A.
New York, January 15

Newark Teachers Protest Banning of "Nation"

Dear Sirs: The following statement has been issued by the Newark Teachers' Union in connection with its protest against the banning of *The Nation* and *Soviet Russia Today:*

The Newark Teachers' Union, after a careful study of the issues involved, believes that Dr. Herron's action is unwise, a move in the direction of intellectual censorship, and hopes that Dr. Herron will reconsider his decision.

The N. T. U. is not concerned with the articles under fire and holds no brief for or against the views expressed by Mr. Blanshard. The only thing that does concern the N. T. U. is the question of censorship and the wisdom of one-man decisions in such matters.

It seems to us that it would have been sounder, from an educational and democratic viewpoint, to submit those articles to a group of teachers and principals for discussion. We have in this city a Committee on Intercultural Relations, created by Dr. Herron for the express purpose of studying all questions involving areas of inter-group friction. Had such a committee after a careful analysis of the articles decided that they were genuinely offensive, that it would be best to restrict them to the teachers' reference shelf, no one could have made the charge of summary censorship. Such a charge, however, is inevitable when a magazine of the national prominence and liberal tradition of *The Nation* is banned in toto because several of its articles have displeased an individual or a group of individuals. . . .

The N. T. U. is deeply concerned with the moral welfare and the patriotic loyalty of our children, but it is equally concerned with the growing intolerance which threatens to sweep away our deeply cherished freedom. Only a few days ago Supreme Court Justice Douglas, whose Americanism none will impugn, warned: "A people indifferent to their civil liberties do not deserve them. A people who proclaim their civil liberties but extend them only to preferred groups start down the path to totalitarianism."

The city of Newark has always justly prided itself on its free public library and its free public schools. Let us not mar our glorious record by any hasty and ill-advised censorship. We sincerely hope that Dr. Herron will rescind his order so that teachers and students of Newark may discuss all issues, absorb the good and reject the evil, in an atmosphere of intellectual freedom.

May I add that we have faith in the integrity and common sense of the teachers and parents of Newark. Let them hear all the arguments, on both sides. We are sure that they are intelligent enough to make up their own minds on an issue as vital as this.

CHARLES ALLEN,
President, N. T. U.,
Local 481, A. F. of L.
Newark, N. J., January 10

Bikini Aftermath

Dear Sirs: Announcement in the press on December 2 that the 147 residents of Eniwetok would be evacuated to Ujelang in preparation for the second atomic-bomb test in the Pacific opened another chapter in the sad history of the 160 Bikinians, moved to Rongerik a year and a half ago in preparation for the first such experiment.

After eighteen months of suffering on an unproductive atoll, the Bikinians were led to believe that they would be moved to Ujelang. In October Commander E. B. Miller, navy civil administrator for the Marshall Islands area, flew from Honolulu to Rongerik to lay plans for the islanders' migration. A working party was taken by the navy to Ujelang to clear away underbrush and prepare a village site. But now the Bikinians must face the fact that they have been deceived. Any construction work on Ujelang was for the Eniwetokians. They, the Bikinians, must be content to wait.

Since February, 1947, they have been waiting for some relief. It was then that Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, high commissioner of the trust territory, first learned that the 416 acres of Rongerik, as compared with the 1,484 acres of Bikini, were too barren to supply sufficient food, that the rainfall was slight, that the people were unhappy and wanted to go "home." He ordered that something be done to aid them. Six months later, when Dr. Howard G. MacMillan, agricultural specialist attached to the United States Commercial Company, made a routine check of the

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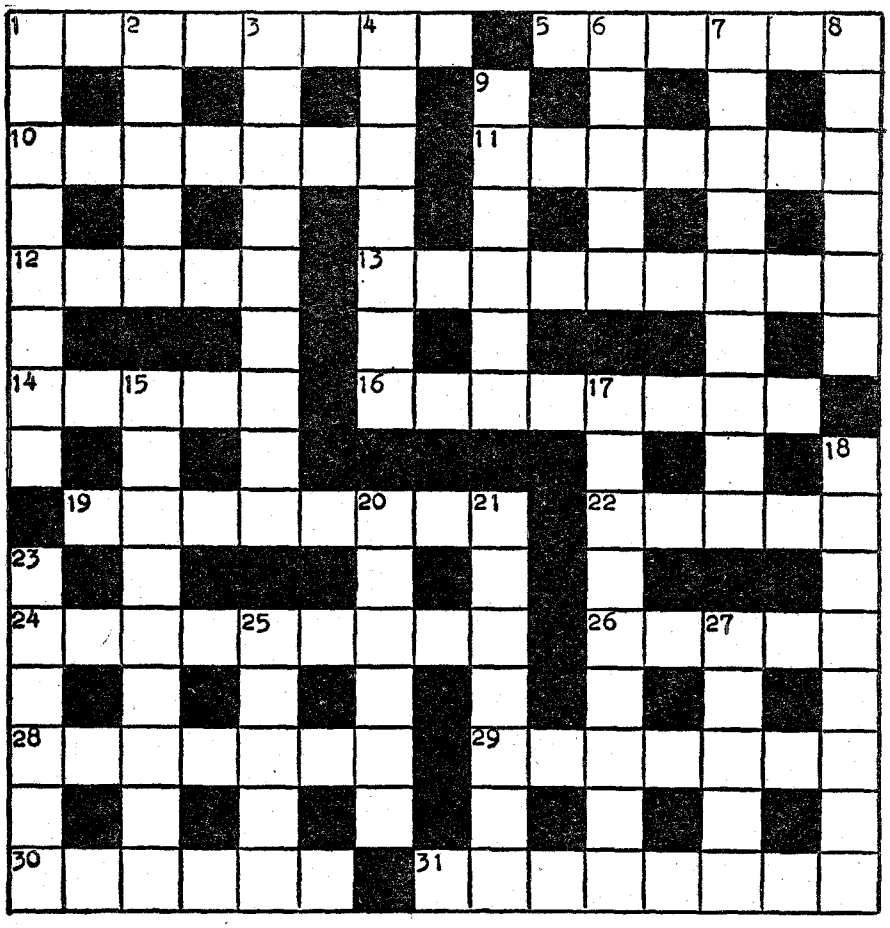
Crossword Puzzle No. 247

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Feeling thus, one might wish the boat would. (8)
5 This taught Bruce a lesson! (6)
10 Stumble over a sort of oil. (7)
11 Bread is so kneaded, but not so cooked. (7)
12 When nuisances exist, one finds it therein. (5)
13 Dog biscuit? (5, 4)
14 How 5 came. (5)
16 Concerning misgivings for defense. (8)
19 Does your spouse come out of a servants' gathering? (8)
22 What's nice about the capital of England? (5)
24 Little science once gotten in the end. (9)
26 How to instruct a pirate. (5)
28 Concerning vulgar gentlemen? (7)
29 A Roman's idea of Charon. (7)
30 No comforter needed here! (6)
31 Chenille from the attic. (8)

DOWN

1 Have faith in the lunar change. (8)
2 Shattered icons. (5)
3 Is the dictionary-user's business? (7, 2)
4 He's between a hop and a jump. (7)
6 How some coats are checked. (5)
7 Take out the fire-place? (9)
8 Reconsider? (6)
9 St. Nicholas came down the chimney with it. (6)
15 How a sharpshooter looks? (9)
17 Flat, for instance? (9)
18 This is sort of a cinch to me. (8)
20 The Federals made such a charge. (6)
21 Is this little fellow from Warsaw? (7)
23 How a chaser should look. (6)
25 Very light animal. (5)
27 Diety finds a Scotch man after an early start. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 246

ACROSS:—1 SULLIVAN; 5 DIMPLE; 10 URGES; 11 TRUNK LINE; 12 BITTERS; 13 LEISURE; 14 CHOSEN; 15 DEGRADE; 18 EXPOUND; 21 ARRIVE; 24 AMNESTY; 26 ROMANCE; 27 TWO-HANDED; 28 LAUGH; 29 ELEVEN; 30 DEAD HEAT.

DOWN:—1 STUBBY; 2 LIGHTSHIP; 3 INSTEPS; 4 ARTISAN; 6 INKLING; 7 POILU; 8 EBENEZER; 9 CURLED; 16 ADVENTURE; 17 REPARTEE; 19 UP-STAGE; 20 DRYADS; 21 ABRIDGE; 22 RAMBLED; 23 RED HOT; 25 NOOSE.

area, he wrote, "The natives are now destitute. . . . The food supply has fallen so low that the natives are cutting palms to eat the heart. . . . There was no garden, no papaya, not a pig or a chicken on the island. One dog, of a reputed three, obviously had the rickets."

When this story reached the press early in October, much to the navy's dismay, the Navy Civil Administration went into apparent action. It announced its plan to move the Bikinians again, this time to Ujelang, since Bikini was not yet safe. But the natives would have to wait until the underbrush could be cleared and water catches built.

What did the navy do to furnish emergency relief to the Bikinians where they were? Two months after Dr. MacMillan's visit and a fortnight after the facts had reached the press, Robert Ebert, photographer on the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* staff, went to Rongerik. He found in the native store two boxes of thread, a few pencils, one hunting knife, and several bars of G. I. soap—no evidence that the navy had recently given the natives any food.

In accepting a United Nations trust over these Pacific islands the United States agreed to hold the interests of the inhabitants paramount. Failure to keep this trust has been nowhere more graphically illustrated than in the Bikini case. Yet when the Security Council, on December 8, noted the United States decision to conduct an atomic-bomb test on another island within the trust territory, it failed to comment in any way on what this might mean to the people involved. It merely deferred all substantive discussion until it received a report from the committee of experts now engaged in defining the respective functions of the Trusteeship Council and the Security Council in the trust territory. This postponement of discussion indicates, probably, unacquaintance with the facts.

Friends of trusteeship and of the islanders hope that the implications of the Eniwetokian movement will not escape the Security Council when the subject comes up for discussion again and that the wrongs of the Bikinians will be rectified soon.

JOHN COLLIER

Washington, December 19

[The foregoing letter was submitted to the New York *Times*, which did not see fit to print it. On December 25 the navy announced to the Washington press that the Eniwetokians had been moved to Ujelang. *Fait accompli.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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